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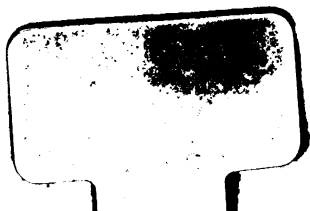
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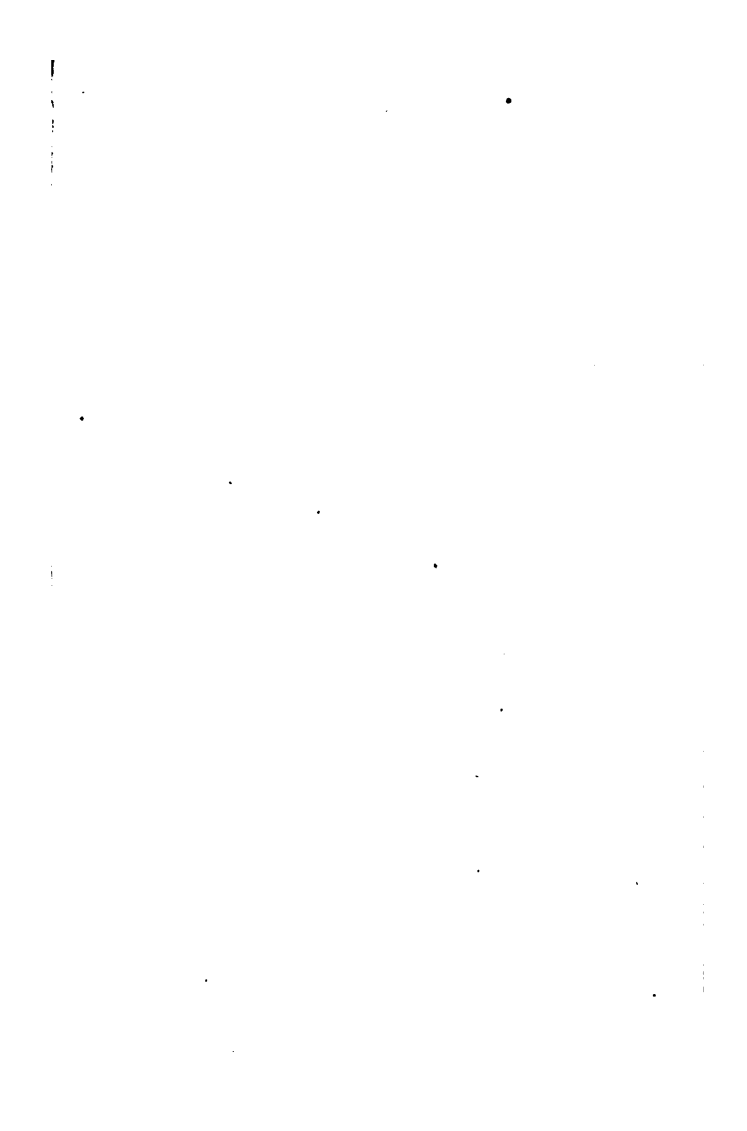
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GRANADA :

OR,

THE EXPULSION OF THE MOORS

FROM

SPAIN.

BY GEORGE CUBITT.

And like a cloud of locusts, whom the South
Wafts from the plains of wasted Africa,
The Musulmen upon Iberia's shore
Descend. A countless multitude they came.
Thou, Calpe, saw'st their coming—doom'd to bear
The name of thy new conqueror, and thenceforth
To stand his everlasting monument.
Thou saw'st the dark-blue waters flash before
Their ominous way, and whiten round their keels ;
Their swarthy myriads darkening o'er thy sands,
Their banners flaunting to the sun and breeze.

SOUTHEY'S "Roderic."

LONDON :

PUBLISHED BY JOHN MASON, 14, CITY-ROAD ;

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1850.



LONDON
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PREFACE.

THE writer only contemplated, at first, the four volumes which are now given to the public ; and when the enlargement of the plan was suggested, he sought some principle which might preserve general unity in the midst of variety. This object, he believes, may be secured by steadfastly keeping in view the different phases of social development furnished by the different histories ; and by considering these in connexion with the plainly-revealed will of God concerning the subjects of his moral and providential government, as existing in smaller or larger societies.

The Christian will always be careful to see God in History as well as in Nature. And between each there is a remarkable analogy. In neither can man ascend to the immediate operation of God. When divine power becomes, as it were, visible, it appears in conjunction with second causes and subordinate agencies. We see not the immediate application of the power : we only see it when it manifests itself in conjunction with the previously-established laws of wisdom. It is so in the history of man.

He receives certain practical principles. By these, reduced to action, is his character formed ; and the divine wisdom is manifested by directing or overruling all these to the fulfilment of its high and holy purposes. Higher up is the resistless dominion of Divine Justice and Love. Man is free, yet is the will of God done. The history of society demonstrates the reign of Providence, and the rules of its procedure. Society is never wretched but by contraventions of the divine law ; and when these are maintained, it never prospers.

In the present volume it is to Spain that attention will chiefly be directed. Other subjects may be considered hereafter. In the mean time, the Christian may triumphantly observe, that the state of the world demonstrates, beyond successful contradiction, that in Christianity alone exists the sufficient remedy against all social evils ; and that they who seek reformation on any other principles, and according to any other method, not only labour in vain, but aggravate the mischiefs they profess to be desirous of curing, and remove to a greater distance the good which they say they wish to secure.

London, February 1st, 1850.

GRANADA.

It is proposed to give a brief history of the final expulsion of the Moors from Spain, towards the close of the fifteenth century, in consequence of which event, Spain, already in its leading provinces of Castile and Arragon united under the joint sovereignty of Ferdinand and Isabella, was prepared to become one entire kingdom, under their immediate successors. In order to this, it will be necessary to furnish an introductory sketch of that invasion which destroyed the Gothic, and established the Mohammedan, dominion in Spain; and of those continued contests between the Christians and the followers of the Arabian impostor, which were carried through so many centuries, during which there was a regular, though slow, enlargement of Christian territory, resulting, in the course of the fifteenth century, in the limitation of Moorish rule to the rich, but small, province of Granada, at the southern extremity of the Peninsula. For reviewing the true character of Mohammedan civilization, and ascertaining the real nature of its social influence, another opportunity will, perhaps, be found, when it may be considered in closer connexion

with the principles of the system established by its Arabian author. For the present it will be sufficient to say, that in Spain, where the system of chivalry shone out in, perhaps, its fullest splendour, its influence modified, to a large extent, the Mohammedan character, and called into existence a Moorish knighthood, in courage, prowess, and courtesy, not inferior to that of Spain itself. The history, however, will enable us to explain the social character of the Spaniards, and to point out those elements, the admission of which occasioned its deterioration, and produced, ultimately, that degraded condition in which they have so long existed, and from which they seem to possess no power to deliver themselves. No portion of modern history teaches lessons more valuably instructive, than those which are afforded by the consideration of the state of Spanish society, at the period when Spanish greatness appeared to have reached its loftiest elevation, and, at the same time, to have secured a wide and stable basis for its support. No history is more admonitory than that of Spain : few histories are equally so. Full as it is of romantic incident, calculated to sustain the deepest interest, yet even this is surpassed by the invaluable instruction which it may be the means of furnishing. It is one of those histories which, like many of the fables composed by the ancients for the illustration of the princi-

ples of practical wisdom, ought always to be followed by the distinct statement of the moral which the entire narrative cannot fail to suggest.

I.—HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.—THE VISIGOTHS IN SPAIN.

ON the fall of the Roman empire in the West, in consequence of the invasion of the various Germanic and Scandinavian tribes, not only had Gaul been overrun by their armies, but the Pyrenees had been passed, and their power established in Spain. Various contests took place there. At first the Suevi were the most successful, and penetrated to the western portions of the Peninsula, although the Roman forces continued to hold many of their possessions in the eastern. Both the one and the other, however, were at length overcome by the Visigoths, under their King, Theodoric, whose successor, Euric, is commonly regarded as the founder of the Gothic monarchy in Spain. He ascended the throne A.D. 466. The settlement of the Goths had by no means subdued their warlike propensities. They had, indeed, no more land to conquer; but there still remained a few towns in the possession of their predecessors, the Suevi, and the older Roman inhabitants. Along the southern coasts, also, from Gibraltar eastward to Valencia, the Imperialists from Constantinople had a num-

ber of fortified settlements. Ultimately, these were all reduced to the obedience of the Gothic rulers. Frequent civil broils, sometimes extending to civil wars, and often followed by dethronements and usurpations, attested the continuance of their military habits. Religious disputes, likewise, ran high. The Visigoths were mostly Arians; and to this, perhaps, may be attributed much of that independence of the Roman See, which their Bishops manifested up to the period of the Moorish invasion. The feelings occasioned by doctrinal opposition experienced little alteration when the profession of Catholic truth became general. This took place under Recared the First, who came to the throne A.D. 586.

The Gothic Monarchs were powerful, but not absolute. But, as in all the European kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, the principles of authority and liberty were mixed together in confusion. They were separated by no well-defined limits. The nobles, as well as the Prelates of the Church, possessed great influence; and it was often by the personal character of the Sovereign, that the character of his reign was fixed. The Church was governed by national Councils, convoked by the Monarch, and usually held at Toledo, the capital of the kingdom. Civil affairs were considered in them when necessity appeared to require, so that they were often assemblies possessing great political influence and

power. Recared the First, through whose personal reception of the truth, and under whose reign, the great change in religious profession took place, is always denominated, in Spanish history, Recared the Catholic.

The reigns of the succeeding Monarchs, for many years, furnish little variety of incident, and yet fewer evidences of social improvement. Scattered through the provinces were many Jews; but these were not allowed to possess any of the privileges of citizenship. Always kept in a degraded state, they were frequently the objects of harassing, and even severe, persecution. Nothing was done to make them the friends of the state in which they sojourned: much, to make them its foes. The mischievous consequences of this were experienced in the course of a few years. They sustained great cruelties from King Sisebut, in the beginning of the seventh century; though, in other respects, his reign was very prosperous. He concluded a treaty, A.D. 616, with the Emperor Heraclius, then reigning at Constantinople, by which the imperial rule in Spain was finally brought to a close. His subjects, also, had suffered much from the piracies of the inhabitants of the opposite coast of Africa; and now that his forces were no longer occupied by the Imperialists, he made a descent on Mauritania, reduced Tangier, Ceuta, and the adjacent districts, and, placing strong garrisons in them,

freed his people from the dangers to which they had been exposed. Some years afterwards, (A.D. 638,) under Chintila, the Jews were expelled from Spain; and, at a Council held immediately after, the King was thanked for the edict he had published. A canon of the Council, purporting to be with the consent of the King and his nobles, decreed that any future Monarch coming to the throne, should take an oath that he would, under pain of excommunication, observe the laws made against that people. The terms in which the canon is expressed, prove indisputably the parliamentary character of the assembly.

Things proceeded in their usual course for about forty years, when the Goths were called to encounter a new adversary. The Saracens appeared in the Mediterranean with a powerful fleet, and frequently made predatory descents. But of these, of whom so much has to be said in the course of this history, a fuller account must now be given.

SECTION II.—THE SARACENS.

MOHAMMED, the impostor-Prophet of Arabia, was born A.D. 569. When he was about forty years of age, A.D. 609, he began to advance pretensions to divine inspiration, and thus to become the founder of a new religion. He gradually collected followers, and, in his own life-

time, commenced that career of conquest which was carried by his successors to so vast an extent. The principal doctrines taught by him, both orally, and by writing in his Koran, the sacred volume of the Mohammedans, were, the existence of God, in opposition to idolatry; and his unity, both as opposed to polytheism, and as contradistinguished from the tenets of Catholic orthodoxy. Himself he proclaimed to be the High-Prophet of God. The grand confession of faith among his disciples has always been, "There is only one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet." As he acknowledged the Judaic and Christian revelations, though he charged the followers of both Moses and our Saviour with having largely corrupted their divine books, the God to whose worship he called men was the true God. His religion chiefly consisted in certain prescribed forms of fasting and prayer. His morality was little more than that civil justice, without some attention to which society cannot exist. The rewards of the future chiefly consisted in a heightened sensuality: its punishments were frightfully material. The tendency of his example, as well as of his teaching, was to encourage a ferocious lust of conquest, ambition, and, at least, public avarice, licentiousness scarcely checked, revenge, and a persuasion that, in employing the sword to bring all people to their own faith, they were only zealous for the honour of God and of his

Prophet. A martial enthusiasm was enkindled to the highest degree ; and, under its influence, they pushed their conquests on every side. The seat of empire at first was at Mecca ; but when the power of their arms had carried them across the Euphrates and the Tigris, a new city was erected, on the site of a village, on the banks of the Tigris, called Bagdad, and here the Caliphs, as the successors of Mohammed were called, resided. The pretended Prophet died A.D. 632 ; and in half a century the Caliph ruled over an empire not inferior to that of ancient Rome. To the north and east, Assyria and Persia had been subjugated. To the north and west, Asia Minor, to the Black Sea, Syria, and Palestine had been conquered. To the south, Egypt had been brought under their sway ; and, soon after, the whole northern coast of Africa had submitted to them. From the Black Sea to the Cataracts of the Nile ; from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean ; from the Indus, by Palestine and Egypt, to the Atlantic ; all submitted to one authority, and all, with the exception of those who were permitted to retain their creed on condition of the payment of tribute, made one profession of faith.

But the Caliphate did not long continue undivided. Ambition was too strong, and the rules of succession to sovereignty were too weak and indefinite. Civil wars were stirred up, sometimes

by successful Generals, sometimes by powerful Viceroys. About the conclusion of the seventh century, the Mohammedan empire was divided between two Caliphs, one reigning at Bagdad, the other in Egypt. To these a third was soon added, by the invasion and conquest of Spain.

SECTION III.—INVASION AND CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE MOORS.

WHILE the Moors were increasing their naval power in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards were becoming weaker through internal divisions. Usurpations and changes in the order of succession frequently occurred, keeping alive a spirit of discontent and party. In A.D. 680, Wamba, an able and popular Prince, was deprived of the crown by Erviga, who employed a base artifice for that purpose. He caused a stupefying potion to be administered to Wamba, and, while he was in an insensible condition, ordered his head to be shaved, and a penitent's habit to be put on him. According to the notions which then prevailed, the Monarch became civilly dead, and Erviga seized the crown. He governed, however, with great prudence; but, being seized with a malignant disease, A.D. 686, he ordered his own head to be shaved, retired into a convent, and resigned the crown, Wamba, his predecessor, being still living. He was succeeded by Egiza, the nephew and heir of Wamba, in whose reign

the Moors made several incursions on the coasts of Spain, but were generally defeated. He died A.D. 700, having previously associated his son Witiza with himself in the government. For a short time the conduct of Witiza was such as to secure the affections of his subjects ; but, in a few years, he abandoned himself to a course of profligacy, becoming, at the same time, cruel and suspicious, especially towards those whose connexion with the royal family might render them formidable competitors. A general defection of his subjects, headed by Roderic, (whose father, brother of a former King, had had his eyes put out by Witiza,) was the consequence. Favila, a younger brother of the same King, Recesuintho, he killed, and banished Pelayo, his son. About A.D. 707 a civil war broke out, and the watchful Saracens were not slow in taking advantage of a state which was likely to be so favourable to themselves. Walid was at this time Caliph, and, by his orders, Muza, his General, besieged Ceuta, a Spanish possession on the African coast, opposite the promontory of Gibraltar. Ceuta was defended by Count Julian, who succeeded in compelling the Moors to raise the siege. They then equipped a powerful fleet ; but the Spanish fleet, under the command of Prince Theodomir, was victorious. The civil war, however, so occupied all parties in Spain, that Muza thought the time was come for ano-

ther attempt. Spain, in fact, was the great object of desire to the African Saracens. Their own country was comparatively poor; Spain fertile and rich, and in its climate far superior to the burning airs of the sandy soil of Africa. In A.D. 709 the first descent of the Moors took place. Taric (or Tarif) was sent over to the southern promontory with a small army; but it was so weakly defended, that he took possession of it, and built a fortress there, to enable him to maintain his position. The place was called after him *Gibel-Taric*, which has since been softened down into "Gibraltar." Two years afterward, (A.D. 711,) Witiza died, and was succeeded by Roderic. This, however, did not bring the civil war to an end. The sons of Witiza, Evan and Sisebut, continued to contest the succession with Roderic; but all their attempts proved ineffectual. It is reported that the daughter of Count Julian received great ill-treatment from Roderic; and that her father, to avenge her wrongs, joined the sons of Witiza, and made application to Muza to afford them assistance. The character of Roderic stands in other respects so fair, that other historians impute the treachery of the sons of Witiza to their own wish to overcome the man who had, as they would think, deprived them of their rights; and the spirit of partisanship had long been sufficiently violent in Spain to account for the junction with them of

Count Julian. Whatever was the cause of their conduct, the effect is well known. The Gothic monarchy in Spain was destroyed, the empire of the Mohammedans was established there, and continued for nearly eight hundred years. Muza saw that the opportunity for which he had long waited was at length come, and sent a strong army over to Gibraltar, to be placed under the command of Tarif. Roderic, also, collected all the forces he could muster, although the treason of such powerful nobles greatly diminished his strength. Desirous of compelling his foes to depart from the kingdom, he resolved to attack them without delay. Tarif had taken up a position (about forty miles to the northward of the fortress he had built) on the banks of the river Guadalete, near the modern town of Arcos. Roderic marched to engage him there. He was highly popular with his troops, and, indeed, with the whole nation, except with those who, under the sons of Witiza, and the Count Julian, were assisting to enslave their country. Whether they thought that the Mohammedan General would be content with fighting their battles, and leaving them to enjoy the fruits of his victory; or whether, if they could not govern Spain themselves, they were willing to bring it under a foreign and un-Christian domination, cannot now be ascertained. Traditionary legends exist which represent the traitors to their coun-

try as being also traitors to their religion, and as having embraced the religion of their allies. Mr. Southey has availed himself of these uncertain records for the purposes of poetry; and in perhaps his best narrative poem has described the conduct of these renegadoes. But poetry is not history. Historically we know little more than the fact, that (A.D. 711) Roderic, having addressed his soldiers in the most spirit-stirring appeals, and raised their courage to its highest pitch, led them against the Moorish encampment. The battle was fiercely contested, and lasted the whole day. It terminated in the entire defeat of the Spaniards, and in the full establishment of the dominion of the Saracens. It is generally believed, that "Roderic, the last of the Goths," lost his life as well as his kingdom. One of the romantic legends, however, which are common in all countries, describes him, when he saw that the field was irrecoverably lost, after he had vainly sought death at the hands of the enemies of his country, as wandering away in disguise, and spending the remainder of his life in austerity and solitude as a hermit. The tradition adds, that many years after, a cave was discovered on the northern coast of Spain, near the Portuguese frontier, in which was a grave covered by a stone slab, on which was inscribed the name of Roderic, and the manner in which he had lived after the loss of his crown.

The Moors lost no time in prosecuting their favourite object,—the subjugation of the entire country. Large reinforcements were sent to them; and as the people were dispirited, and none were found to collect the scattered forces, the progress of Saracenic victory was rapid and triumphant. Town after town was taken, and the inhabitants admitted as tributary subjects of the Caliph. Of the more wealthy, the possessions were generally confiscated, and bestowed on their victors. Numbers came over from Africa to dwell in the conquered country; and, before long, the majority of the inhabitants were Mohammedans.

SECTION IV.—RISE OF THE MODERN SPANISH KINGDOM.

If the reader will consult some good map of Spain, he will see that a range of mountains extends from the Pyrenees on the east, to the Atlantic on the west, running parallel with the northern coast at distances varying from twenty to forty or fifty miles. About a third part of this range, nearest the Pyrenean mountains, belongs to Biscay, a province which gives its name to the well-known Bay. The western part, reaching to Cape Finisterre on the Atlantic, and towards this extremity branching out to the north, so as to form the lofty cliffs of the north-western coast-line of Spain, from Cape Ortegal, by Ferrol and Corun-

na, to Cape Finisterre, constitutes the mountainous regions of Galicia. The central portions, forty or fifty leagues in extent from east to west, are the mountains of the Asturias. Many parts of them are lofty, containing rugged defiles, running high up into the mountains, and terminating in cliffs and caverns, which a few brave soldiers, under skilful direction, might defend against any invader; thus making their own fastnesses inaccessible. To some of these, a few of the Gothic nobles, with their remaining followers, defeated in battle, but unsubdued in spirit, fled for refuge. With them was Pelayo, (by some called Pelagius,) the next heir to the crown. Their place of refuge was too distant to be reached by the Moors while employed in the work of conquest. Perhaps at first their existence was not suspected; and when it became known, their numbers were too few to excite apprehension in the conquerors, who were spreading themselves through the fairer and richer portions of their country. But this small and resolute band had not lost all hope. Finding themselves unmolested, they took up their abode in the more eastern parts of the Asturian hills, where these attain an elevation of nearly three thousand feet, and where they found mountain-fastnesses which they believed they should be able to defend against any power that their enemies could send against them. As soon as they were set-

tled in the small district which they occupied in the most inland part of the country, on the mountain-declivities, and reaching a few miles into the plains to the north,—its length being about twenty miles,—they took measures for a regular form of society, as well as for their own subsistence and defence, and conceived the bold project of restoring the Spanish monarchy and the Christian religion. To this resolution, perhaps, under Divine Providence, it was owing that the Saracens could not succeed in carrying their dominion beyond the Pyrenees ; as, after a few years, large portions of their troops were occupied by the frequent incursions of the Asturian mountaineers on the plains of Leon to the south. Pelayo, in addition to the claims of his birth, had all the qualifications required in a ruler and leader in the circumstances in which this Spanish remnant found itself placed. According to the custom of the Goths, he was elected to the sovereignty. This election is believed to have taken place in September, A.D. 718. His kingdom was a small one, only extending to the district which was then occupied ; but his subjects were composed of those who preferred a life of hardship to slavery. Most of them had lost all their property, and had no hope of ever recovering it for themselves ; but knowing their own resolution, and the goodness of their cause, trusting also in Him whose religion the invaders profaned

and despised, they extended their views into the distant future, and laid the foundations of the superstructure which their posterity was to erect. It may be owing to these circumstances of the restored Spanish monarchy, that its constitution embodied all the noble principles of freedom which were never eradicated till after the work of restoration was completed by the expulsion of the Moors, when the power of the Monarch was supported by a bigoted and designing priesthood, who aided in the extension of his authority that they might secure their own, and made the honour of religion the pretext for the establishment of civil and religious despotism and bondage. The subjects of Pelayo were free men, who yet were deeply convinced of the necessity of union and order to their very existence. They gave to the Monarchs all the power that was requisite for ruling them ; but they reserved to themselves, in various ways, the right of preventing them from becoming tyrants. The elements of genuine liberty were contained in the constitutions of the kingdoms into which Spain was divided, till the Inquisition enabled the Monarchs under whom they were united into one empire to crush the aspirations of the noblest of all kinds of freedom, and to enslave the souls of the people, so as that they gloried in subjection to an "Absolute King," and in complete vassalage to triumphant Rome. Thus was Spain rapidly precipitated

into those depths of degradation from which she has never been delivered, and from which, notwithstanding all her struggles in our own day, she does not seem to understand the true principles and method of deliverance.

When the news of the election of Pelayo had reached Alahor, the Moorish Governor-General of Spain, he resolved to take measures for crushing the few who thus refused to submit to the empire of the Caliph. A numerous army, under the command of Alhaman, a General of great valour and experience, was ordered to march for this purpose. The army of Pelayo was composed of all his subjects grown to man's estate, every man being a soldier. He established his head-quarters in the cavern of Covadonga, at the head of a long and narrow defile, in the mountain of Auseva. The ascent was steep and rugged. On either side were lofty precipices. The cavern itself, with its vaulted roof, penetrated deep into the interior of the mountain, while above there was a perpendicular face of rock up to the summit. The cavern was elevated high above the path which conducted to it, and was only accessible by natural steps, allowing no more than one to climb at once. The length of the defile was such, that it was able to contain the whole Mohammedan army, amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand men, including a Gothic regiment, raised and commanded by Orpaz, formerly

Archbishop of Seville, who had renounced the profession of Christianity. Pelayo, clearly perceiving that the loss of the battle would complete the subjugation of Spain, and fix on her the yoke of Mohammed without prospect of future release, had summoned to his aid every man capable of bearing arms, and thus raised an army which, though numerically far below that of the Moors, was at least equal in point of valour and discipline, and to whom despair of safety, except from victory, would communicate additional energy. His forces, too, were sufficiently numerous to enable him to occupy all the approaches to the cavern. They were withdrawn from the plain, as no opposition in the form of a regular battle between armies facing each other was likely to be successful. They were fixed in strength on the ledges of the precipices flanking the long and winding defile, the path up which was the rugged bed of a stream, which in winter was a torrent. Vast masses of rock were loosened; huge pieces of stone were collected in proper places; and the men, laying by their arms till occasion should come for using them, had their levers prepared to roll down the rocks on their foes beneath them. Alhama crossed the mountain from the south, and marched at the foot of its northern declivity, till he learned where Pelayo had established his position. Before attacking him, Orpaz was sent up the defile to persuade

the new Monarch to surrender ; but intelligence of his approach having been conveyed to Pelayo, he ordered the men to lie down, and otherwise conceal themselves, that the renegade and traitor might form no notion of their strength. He saw only Pelayo, attended by a few armed men, and was at once dismissed, being informed that the resolution of the Spaniards was to conquer or die. Pelayo saw that the crisis was soon to arrive. His men had been ordered first solemnly to commend themselves to God, and then to prepare to act according to the directions they had received. The Moors were soon seen winding up the rugged and tortuous path. Their arms, Pelayo had rightly foreseen, would be of little service to them. Their javelins would rebound from the face of the rock, and their arrows could only be used by bowmen having a good footing. Their horses were more likely to be injurious than helpful. The conquests of the Saracens had hitherto been gained chiefly by the martial ardour of individuals, rushing on their opponents with furious onset, and by their swords and spears carrying all before them. Pelayo knew this, and had provided accordingly. His troops were out of the reach of assault ; and they were not to become assailants personally till their first movements had destroyed many of their foes, and thrown the rest into a confusion from which they would not have room to extricate themselves. All im-

patience was to be restrained. No one was to stir till the signal was given ; and care was taken that the movement should be simultaneous. The intention of Pelayo was that the whole Moorish army should have entered the defile before the attack was made, that, if successful at all, the success might be complete. The Moors had now threaded the defile. Alhaman stood below the front of the cavern, which concealed a numerous body of the most valiant of the Christian warriors, and summoned their Commander, who with a chosen few appeared full armed at its vaulted entrance, to surrender. By preconcerted signals, Pelayo knew that the last Moorish files were within the ambuscade. He gave the sign. In a moment the precipices on either side were seen full of men in armour. The Moors attempted to cast their spears, and their bowmen to discharge their arrows ; but ere they could know that they fell short of their mark, the Spaniards had applied all their strength to their levers, and from top to bottom of the valley, and from either side, huge masses of rock were rolled down on the living crowd, crushing thousands, laming as many, and rendering them as powerless for defence as for attack, thus throwing the whole army into helpless disorder. The word was again given, and by ways only known to themselves, the Spaniards, full armed for both offensive and defensive warfare, poured down on their already

more than half-defeated foes, and simultaneously commenced an attack on the entire length of the line, and completed with their swords the awful work of destruction. The rout was decisive. Out of one hundred and fifty thousand, fifteen thousand, only a tenth part, escaped with difficulty. The leader was slain. Few prisoners were taken, but one of them was the renegade Archbishop, Orpaz, who expiated his treason with his blood. The remainder recrossed the mountain, hasting back to the parts where the rule of the Saracens was fully established; but of these it was computed that one half perished by the way of their wounds, or from fatigue. Of the whole army, few ultimately escaped to tell the story of their defeat.

Mumuza, a Moorish General, was established with a numerous garrison at Gijon, a strongly fortified town on the coast, about fifty miles from Covadonga to the north-west. Judging himself unsafe, after this decisive victory, he marched out to occupy some post of greater strength. He moved in a south-westerly direction, hoping to avoid his triumphant foes; but Pelayo had intelligence of his proceedings, and sallied forth to fall in with him. The armies met near where Oviedo now stands, and the Moors were totally routed. The most important consequences to the Spanish arms resulted. The whole of the Asturian province was cleared of the invaders,

and the authority of Pelayo was acknowledged throughout. What was afterwards called the kingdom of Oviedo was thus established. He was allowed to remain there in peace. Many of the Christians, who had been elsewhere compelled to submit to a foreign yoke, escaped to him, so that his kingdom speedily became populous; and before he was removed from earth, the hope of re-establishing the Christian dominion in Spain, though at a distant period, no longer appeared as a vain dream.

We are not going to write a history of Spain. What remains of the subject of this section must be comprised in a few sentences.

The Spaniards soon became strong enough to make incursions to the south of the Asturian mountains; and in these they were so successful as to make considerable accessions to their more northern territories. The earliest of those separate kingdoms into which Spain was divided, till their union under Ferdinand and Isabella, was that of Oviedo and Leon; but the Asturias were the germ of the whole. As a memento of this, the title of the heir-apparent to the Spanish throne has always been "the Prince of the Asturias."

Centuries rolled on; but, with a few local and temporary exceptions, between the Christian and Mohammedan inhabitants of Spain there was perpetual war. After a time, the age of chivalry

opened, and soon became fully established ; and in no country were its practices more completely or longer observed than in Spain. By the constant habits of intercourse, the Spanish Mohammedans were brought largely under the influence of Christian civilization, and exchanged their sanguinary ferocity for chivalrous bravery and honour. Notwithstanding subordinate differences, in all their essential features of courage and refinement, Spanish and Moorish chivalry were alike. But for the irreconcilable difference of religion, the races would have been amalgamated. This, however, was impossible. The contrasted points admitted no possibility of reconciliation. A free-thinking age, indifferent alike to truth or error, might have established a mutual ground by the renunciation of what each held sacred. But both parties were attached to their respective systems by a sense of duty. False as were the peculiarities of Mohammedanism, they were sincerely believed. Numerous and mischievous as were the errors with which the Christianity of the Spaniards was associated, not only was the entire system sincerely believed, but that system embraced the great truths which the Lord of Grace and Nature has made known for the redemption of man, and which are the true elements of genuine civilization. Mixed up with opposing errors, there was much to enfeeble their power, and render its progress imperfect and slow. But,

compared with the opposite system of imposture and falsehood, it communicated natural energies to the human mind, and gave its movements a right direction. The consequence was, that the two systems being *in presence*, the abiding power of the one led to a gradual but certain enlargement. The other possessed only the fitful energy of passion, and therefore there was a gradual but certain giving way. The Spanish dominions became more extensive, compact, and powerful : the limits of Moorish rule became proportionably contracted. The victory of Covadonga, in A.D. 719, gave the Christians a narrow province on the northern coasts of Spain, in which their defeated antagonists dared not to assail them. Seven centuries and a half subsequently, the Mohammedan territories were confined to a single province on the southern coast ; and the victorious Christians were preparing to achieve the final conquest to which all preceding victories had been opening the way, and to make the successors of Pelayo Monarchs of all Spain.

Every people is powerful according to the measure of moral truth acting upon the social system. Even polytheists, as possessing the idea of powers superior to man, and under whom man is placed, rise above the savage hordes who only dread a something of which they have but a vague and remote notion. Compare the natives of Hindostan with the islanders of the South Sea.

But these appear below the Mohammedans, who knew the true God by means of his own revelation, though they refused to acknowledge him in his revealed glory, and associated with his service and truth the teachings and injunctions of a crafty impostor. In the presence of the Christians, who, though their Christianity was debased by human admixtures, held the great truths of redemption, Mohammedans, however powerful in the earlier onslaughts of their fanaticism, ultimately recede. The Crescent pales and diminishes before the Cross. They, again, who hold the truth, obscured and enfeebled by human admixtures and inventions, never reach the height attained by them who receive it in its primitive sincerity. What is Ireland, what are Spain, Italy, Austria, compared with England and America? Human wisdom refers these differences to the distinctions of races; but power and truth are indissolubly connected, and nations will show, in the visible condition of society, the measure of truth which influences them. God would have men to come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved; and that alone which promotes the salvation of the soul, can advance men in social prosperity.

But this preliminary Historical Review must be closed by some remarks on—

SECTION V.—THE RISE, CULMINATION, AND
DECLINE OF THE MOHAMMEDAN DOMI-
NION IN SPAIN.

THE period when the Saracens achieved the conquest of Spain was a most remarkable and eventful one in the history of Christendom. They had not outlived their primitive enthusiasm, although their Caliphs began to display the usual effects of unbounded power and wealth. Their empire reached westward to the Atlantic. Asia Minor was almost entirely reduced to their sway; and Constantinople, A.D. 718, with difficulty repelled them from its walls. The Germans were as yet unreclaimed from their Heathenism. While the Moors were conquering Spain, numbers of Christian Missionaries, who, though not free from the reigning errors of the Church of Rome, were imbued with apostolic zeal, were labouring to win the Germans to Christianity. Ultimately, the Cross triumphed; but, for many years, the labours of the Missionaries issued in very varied results. The Pagans beyond the Rhine were wild and barbarous as savages; and had a powerful army of Mohammedans assailed them from the south, there was little or nothing to prevent the establishment of the religion of the Arabian impostor in Central Europe. England, too, under the divisions of the Heptarchy, and troubled with the incursions of the pagan Danes, was in a most

unsettled condition. Christendom, in fact, was threatened. But "He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep."

Already were the conquerors of Spain preparing to leave the Pyrenees in their rear. Zama, an active Moorish General, conducted a numerous army into the south of France, and advanced as far as Toulouse. Here, however, he was met by Eudes, Count of Aquitaine, who, A.D. 724, totally defeated him, and drove the remains of his army back into Spain. A veteran leader, Abdalrahman, was now sent to take the command of an army still more powerful; and, everything having been prepared that was thought likely to contribute to the success of the undertaking, A.D. 730, the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees. The army, however, was less numerous than in all probability it would have been, through the successful operations of Pelayo. Not only had the southern passes of the Asturian mountains to be carefully watched, but the towns and fortresses required stronger garrisons, to prevent the subdued Christians from seeking to recover their lost liberty, through the example of their brethren in the north. Still, the invading army might well have excited alarm. The lowest computation makes their numbers exceed three hundred thousand. In addition to their usual military ardour, they were inflamed with the desire of revenge, as well as animated by the

prospect of conquests richer and more noble than any which they had yet won. Abdalrahman advanced slowly, securing his conquests as he went. At Bourdeaux he met with Count Eudes ; but this time the victory was with the Saracens, and the Christians were scattered in all directions. The victorious leader continued his triumphant progress, till he found his onward movement arrested on the plains between Poitiers and Tours.

The Monarchs of France were now little more than shadows of royalty. The actual power was exercised by the Mayors of the palace. Charles Martel, one of them, had conducted the affairs of France with wisdom and success for twenty-four years. Reports of the conquests of the Saracens were daily brought him ; but for some time he appeared to content himself with increasing and strengthening his army, and preparing it to repel the invaders effectually. His plan was to allow them to march into the centre of France. They would be loaded with the booty they had collected. Long marches and frequent engagements would have damped their earlier ardour. But his fixed time for action was come. To the south of Tours, on the road to Poitiers, he awaited the approach of Abdalrahman. Flush-ed with past victories, and confident of new ones, the Saracen army hastened to the assault. For five days the battle raged with undiminished fury.

Christendom and Mohammedism were contending for the prize. But the army of Charles Martel was superior in discipline, and in its powers of endurance. The successes of the Saracens were generally the consequence of the resistless might of the first onslaught. If that were withstood, each succeeding one was less and less to be feared. So it now proved. For five days, from morning till night, the combatants were furiously engaged. The battle continued throughout the sixth; but it was evident that the strength of the Moors was ebbing. On the seventh, the French Commander watched his opportunity, and led a body of heavy-armed Germans to the attack. Abdalrahman was slain, and the Moors gave way. The Christians were not in a condition for immediate pursuit; but, in the course of the night, disputes arose among the soldiers of the different tribes who had followed Abdalrahman, as they supposed, to the conquest of Europe. Enraged by their defeat, they turned their arms against each other; and, before morning, the remains of the vast Moorish host had all melted away. The victory was complete. The places which they had occupied were speedily recovered out of their hands, and they were driven beyond the Pyrenees, never to return. Thenceforth they contented themselves with securing their Spanish conquests, and enjoying the fruits of them.

In a short time their success appeared to be complete; but just as their Spanish conquests were consolidated, an event occurred which altered the face of the Mohammedan world, and gave a new character to its rule in Spain. The reigning Caliphs, from their ancestor called "Omniades," had for some time been increasingly unpopular. They had long been opposed by the "Abbasides;" and the two factions, by their contests, disturbed the wide-spread Saracenic dominion. Early in A.D. 750 the Omniades were driven from the throne, and the jealousy of their successors sought to exterminate the whole family. One youth, of the name of Abdalrahman, escaped. He at first sought refuge among the tribes near the Euphrates; but was hunted from place to place, till he arrived in Africa, where his house had always been popular. He passed over into Spain, and in A.D. 755 raised there the standard of revolt. The whole Mohammedan portion of the country submitted to his rule. He claimed to be Caliph and supreme Lord of Spain, and fixed the seat of his empire at Cordova. His successors governed the land, from the Pyrenees to the Atlantic, for two centuries and a half. The consequences of the division of the caliphate were decisive; and thenceforward, Mohammedan assaults on Christian Europe were neither so many nor so dangerous as in former times they had been.

Another change likewise took place. The first Caliphs had been celebrated for their personal self-denial. The wealth they obtained by their conquests, as long as the first enthusiasm lasted, was devoted to the maintenance of their armies, and the prosecution of their grand object of compulsory proselytism. But human nature can never be restrained permanently by principles short of divine grace and truth. The later Monarchs used their wealth for personal gratification; and became as noted for luxury and splendour, as their predecessors had been for warlike ardour. This was particularly the case in Spain. The Spanish Mohammedans partially imbibed the civilizing principles which can only dwell in full force in connexion with Christianity, and which they learned from the Christians around them. The ground was cultivated with care and success, and trade flourished. The consequence was, an increasing prosperity and wealth. The Monarchs at Cordova became the patrons of literature and art. No expense was spared in the erection and embellishment of their palaces. Their gardens and places of summer abode vied in beauty and splendour with those for which the Orientals had long been famed. The remains of Moorish art yet existing in Spain—as, for instance, the Alhambra, a palace in the suburbs of Granada—attest the taste and magnificence of the Moorish Caliphs. Their literature was extremely limited. Many portions

of their science were mistaken. They cultivated astrology and magic, and diligently sought for the elixir by which life might be indefinitely prolonged; and the philosopher's stone, by which the baser metals might be transmuted into gold. But, in the course of their astrological researches, many astronomical truths were ascertained; and the alchemists led the way to the discoveries of modern chemistry, and many of the improvements of modern medicine. And as the war between them and the Christians was not, though in one place or another perpetual, universally waged, there was always a considerable intercourse kept up; and to the reign of the Arabs in Spain, the science and literature of Europe, in its earlier periods, were largely indebted. During the ascendancy of the feudal system, the vassals remained in a state of debasing ignorance, above which their lords were very little elevated. Their pride was, that their hands wielded the sword. They left the pen to the Monks; and while some branches of literature were cultivated by these, the learned men whom the Caliphs invited to Cordova were skilled in others. Modern European poetry is especially indebted to them. The Monks and learned men of Christian Europe were, for the most part, imitators of the classical model: exact, elegant, but elaborate and often frigid, as were the models, the imitators caught only the more obvious features of the original;

and, provided the *numbers* of the verse were carefully observed, childish fancies and forced images were allowed to form the substance. The Moors in Spain introduced and cultivated the poetry of the Arabs,—the poetry of passion, and feeling, and romantic narrative; and, during the period in which the caliphate flourished, this was cultivated to a degree which rendered it fascinating to their Christian neighbours, through whom it gradually spread into Italy, France, and even England. Spanish composition, both in poetry and prose, long retained the impression which had first been made by their Arab neighbours. If less is now found there than might have been anticipated, let the Inquisition, always suspicious of heresy, and resolved to root out the tares, however much the wheat might be injured, bear the blame. In England, where true freedom has been so long enjoyed, poetry has at length united classical regularity with the freedom and the emotive power of the Spanish-Arabian compositions; adding to it a glowing love of the beauties of nature, and richly-pictorial descriptions of natural scenery, in its actual existence and particular presentations,—a feature in which not only Roman, but even Grecian, poetry was always strangely deficient. Even to the Mohammedan occupants of Spain, is modern Europe largely indebted. What may be evil as it proceeds from man, is often so overruled by a wise, holy, and

beneficent Providence, as to be the occasion of good. "The Lord's throne is in the heavens, and his kingdom ruleth over all. The Lord reigneth ; let the earth rejoice !"

But, notwithstanding all this prosperity and splendour, there was a worm at the root. The principles of Mohammedan civilization were only human and material. That the elements of weakness were slower in their development in Spain than elsewhere, arose from the influence of Christian example. Still, the progress was certain. Unbounded luxury and absolute power led to corruption in the rulers, as slavery produced debasement in the subject. The licence of polygamy and concubinage was frequently the cause of fearful profligacy. Modern Europe owes more than mere worldly politicians are willing to acknowledge, to the Christian sanctity of marriage. Another evil was thus likewise occasioned, which, more perhaps than any other visible cause, tended to loosen the fabric of society, by weakening or rending asunder its ties. Family dissensions were frequent in the domestic circle of the Caliphs. One son might be a popular favourite ; another, the favourite of his father ; another, the favourite of his mother. And none of these might be the eldest, who naturally claimed to be the heir. And to restrain these evils in the great, and those which might be caused by them in all classes, the lessons in Mohammedan impos-

ture were powerless. They contained not the principles of the only efficient remedy against human corruption. In process of time, the effects became obvious. The luxury, or tyranny, or negligence, or all of them combined, after the lapse of three centuries, during which Moham-medan splendour reached its highest point, produced their natural results. And the work of Spanish opposition had been all the time proceeding. The Asturian kingdom had become also the kingdom of Leon. And as, in one place or another, war was always carried on, and the project of freeing Spain from her invaders was steadily kept in view, gradually the borders of Christian Spain were enlarged ; towns were conquered, provinces won ; the germs of new kingdoms appeared ; and eventually several new kingdoms were formed. The Moors were weakened by divisions. The Governors of provinces asserted their independence. The leading towns became the centres of as many systems ; and the Spaniards, united in their object, found their task become more and more easy. At first, the provinces won from the Moors became independent principalities ; but these, by conquest or agreement, by intermarriage or succession, became gradually absorbed in the more powerful states. At length, about the middle of the fifteenth century, (Portugal having become a separate and independent kingdom,) Spain might be consi-

dered as existing in four divisions: the small kingdom of Navarre, bordering on the Pyrenees to the north-east; Castile and Arragon, which, having absorbed all the minor kingdoms, comprised the whole country from the Mediterranean on the east, to the frontiers of Portugal on the west; and the small kingdom of Granada on the south. This last was all of Spain that was left to the Moors. Its strength, however, was greater than would have been supposed from its size. Its population was numerous and concentrated. Its territory was generally fertile and abundant; and the heat of its southern climate, tempered by the breezes from the ocean on its long coast-line, rendered the air salubrious and pleasant, and contributed largely to the delightful character of the country. Notwithstanding the diminished extent of the region over which they ruled, the profuse magnificence of the Caliphs rivalled the courts of their predecessors, when almost all Spain was subject to their sway. The inhabitants were sober and industrious; and though they were chiefly occupied in agricultural labours, several of the mechanical arts had reached, comparatively, a high degree of perfection.

In A.D. 1451 was born Isabella, Princess of Castile, and heiress to the throne. In A.D. 1452, Ferdinand, Prince of Arragon, and heir to the throne, was born. The advantage of their union, as likely to unite the greater part of Spain into

one monarchy, was early perceived by their friends ; as well as by themselves, when of age to consider the subject. They were married A.D. 1469. On the part of Isabella, it appears to have been a marriage of steady affection : the advantages to Ferdinand were too great, and the character of Isabella was too excellent, not to have awakened in him at least full respect, and as much of affection as his selfish and shrewdly-calculating nature would allow. Isabella succeeded to the Castilian crown A.D. 1479 ; and though the marriage-articles required certain acts of sovereignty to be performed in her name, she virtually conceded the whole government to her husband. Ferdinand succeeded his father, as King of Arragon, A.D. 1479. From that time all Spain, with the exception of the Moorish kingdom of Granada, might be considered as placed under one rule.

II.—EXPULSION OF THE MOORS FROM SPAIN.

THE Spanish writers all unite in their descriptions of the excellent character of Isabella. As a Sovereign she was wise, prudent, and just. Her piety was deep and sincere, and only defective where the prevailing religious system occasioned it to be so. She was scrupulously conscientious ; but, as a devoted adherent to

established Catholicism, her conscience was too often governed by others. Her piety itself occasioned this submission to be sometimes injurious to others. Mere worldly Ecclesiastics she could never tolerate; and always chose for her Confessors those who were sincere in their religious profession, and whose religious character was formed on the model of the asceticism of the Church. It was possible that such asceticism might have been combined with a meek and tolerant spirit: it was more usually associated with a narrow-minded bigotry and intolerance. Men who deny themselves every gratification, and whose notions of self-denial render their whole lives one continued punishment, are not likely to be moved by the sufferings of others, when their suffering is considered necessary either for their own salvation, or for a public example. Torquemada, who afterwards became Inquisitor-General, belonged to this class; and when power was given to him, he employed it against all shades of heresy with relentless vigour. To his advice is owing the perfidious treatment of the conquered Moors, as well as the final banishment of the Jews from Spain under circumstances of the greatest injustice and cruelty. Left to herself, Isabella would have been a mother to all classes of her subjects: as it was, she was the unhappy instrument of suffering and ruin to thousands. The industry of Spain received a shock from

which it has never recovered ; and by the establishment of the Inquisition in such fulness of power as other Sovereigns, jealous of their own rights, refused to concede to it, all mental freedom was crushed, and mental progress rendered impossible. In return for this gift of religious despotism, the Church aided Ferdinand, the more active Sovereign, in preparing the way for a civil despotism, which, under Charles V., was completely established. By a natural law of society, whose operations never fail, the people that are hindered from advancing always recede. From those times Spanish society has moved rapidly down the steep descent of social degradation.

Ferdinand has been dignified with the epithet of "the Catholic." His piety, however, was altogether different from that of Isabella. To the external practices of his Church he conformed with exact precision ; but he was always governed by a careful regard to his own interests. He was shrewdly cunning, rather than wise. He would never suffer the Roman See to infringe the rights of the crown. Like his grandson, he could be as disobedient to the Pope as Henry VIII. of England, when he judged it necessary. But for this he made compensation by giving the Pope unbounded dominion over the rights of others, both as to property and person, especially if he saw that a share of the confiscated property would come into his own coffers. He was inca-

pable of large and generous views. Columbus would never have obtained from him the liberty of embarking on his glorious voyage of discovery. The entire credit of the enterprise is due to Isabella. But her crafty husband, though he allowed the expenses to fall upon her, took care to stipulate for a share of the profits.

Though there was a separate administration for each kingdom, yet the united Sovereigns possessed the resources, and exercised the powers, of the whole, and might employ the whole in any enterprise which they might deem necessary for the common interest. The conquest of Granada naturally tempted such an enterprise. Its annexation to their other territories would unite Spain under a common sovereignty. Besides, though so many centuries had gone by, the recollection of the first invasion and conquest had not passed away. The Moors were still strangers. Castile and Arragon might be two kingdoms ; but they were inhabited by the same race, speaking the same language, and, above all, professing the same religion. Length of possession was held not to have cured the defect of the original title ; and it was the general opinion of all Spaniards, from the highest to the lowest, that the first favourable opportunity of winning back the property of their ancestors should be embraced. Motives of piety influenced Isabella. She believed that it would be for the honour of Christ

for all Spain to become Christian. The Ecclesiastics, also, looked for an extension of their own power. Both the ambition and the avarice of Ferdinand powerfully moved him. It would be no slight honour to perfect the undertaking which his ancestors had commenced from the cavern of Covadonga, and the mountains of the Asturias. Granada, likewise, was rich, and its conquest would increase the wealth of the crown. Upon this national object, therefore, all parties had their eyes fixed. Only the favourable opportunity was wanted. It was soon presented.

SECTION I.—THE KINGDOM OF GRANADA.

WHAT was anciently the kingdom of Granada under the Moors, is comprised within the limits of the modern Spanish province of the same name. Its length, from east to south-west, is about two hundred and forty miles. Its breadth varies from thirty to eighty. Its principal towns are Granada, the capital, Malaga, Almeria, Ronda, &c. The state was founded on the downfall of the empire of the Moors at Cordova, by Mohammed Ben Alhama, A.D. 1238, and was raised by him and his successors to a lofty pitch of splendour and refinement. Stimulated by a dense population, agriculture and horticulture were carried to a high degree of excellence. Spain is indebted to the Moslem Granadians for the introduction of her most exquisite fruits, and

other rich products of the garden. The sugarcane was cultivated, cotton was raised and manufactured, silk was obtained from their silkworms. The best modes of irrigation were ascertained, water was skilfully distributed as the different plots of ground required, so that the land yielded more than what was elsewhere the average quantity of produce. Their skill was also shown in the manufacture of woollen and linen fabrics ; and the swords and dyed leather of Granada were once the best in Europe. The commerce of the country was extensive, and the luxuries of India and Alexandria were plentifully enjoyed.

The whole country is diversified with majestic mountains, delightful valleys, and wide plains : it has also an extensive line of coast. The Sierra Nevada, the loftiest mountain-range in the Peninsula, raises its brilliant snow-crowned summit (called Mulhacen) thirteen thousand five hundred and seventy-two feet above the sea, whence it is visible to mariners at a great distance. Perpetual snow begins at an elevation of about nine thousand nine hundred feet. The Alpuxarras stretch east and west between the Nevada and the sea ; and at the western end of this range the Sierra de Lujar, six thousand eight hundred and fifty feet high, has its summit crowned with snow during six months of the year. The Sierras de Gador, Bermeja, and Ronda are as wild as the central group of the Nevada. The eastern part

of the region is covered with offsets of the great Iberian chain. Many promontories stretch into the sea, forming deep bays and sheltered harbours. And, as, in such a country of mountains and hills, might be expected, it abounds in rivers. The Genil, the amplest tributary of the Guadalquivir, the Guadix, the Guadiaro, the Guadalmédina which waters Malaga, the Motril, the Almería, are among the principal streams. The mineral springs are numerous. In the mountains of Antequera are copious salt-springs. The soil, though stony in the mountains, light in the plains, and sandy towards the coast, is nevertheless covered with a luxuriant vegetation. The sumach and the cork trees, the oak, bearing the edible fruit, and many other valuable trees and shrubs, form the extensive thickets of the Sierras. The excellent system of tillage and irrigation established by the Moors, notwithstanding modern neglect, still survives; and the Vega of Granada, adjoining the capital, is like a vast and luxuriant garden, and perhaps the most enchanting spot in Europe. The mineral wealth of the country is still great. Metals are abundant in the mountains. Near Congajar alone there are a hundred and seventeen lead-mines. In many places copper ore lies near the surface; antimony and quicksilver are found near Malaga, and molybdenum at Ronda. Coal is found on the margins of the Beiro, and of the Alfacar, near the

capital. Exquisite marbles and jaspers are common, and the best alabaster in Europe comes from the Alpuxarras. The Sierra de Gador is an enormous block of marble, rising nearly eight thousand feet above the level of the sea. Another mass of marble, white and pure, above four miles in compass, and two thousand feet in height, called the Sierra de Filares, stands between Almeria, Granada, and Guadix.

Granada, the capital, was built by the Saracens in the tenth century, out of the Roman ruins of the adjoining municipal Conventus of Illiberis, and belonged at first to the kingdom of Cordova. After this kingdom was overthrown through the divisions of the Moors, and the spreading power of the Christian Spaniards, Granada became, A.D. 1238, the celebrated capital of the new state, and was the last bulwark of the Moslem empire in Western Europe. It was three leagues in circumference, and Oriental ideas of grandeur and magnificence were carried to the utmost degree in the splendid character of its erections and embellishments. When the fatal war broke out, which issued in the final conquest of the Moors, it is computed to have contained four hundred thousand inhabitants; and its walls were defended, against the united forces of Spain, by one hundred thousand men. At the present day, the Alhambra, and the Generalife, (whose balconies afford, perhaps, the finest prospects in Europe,) Torres, Bermejás,

&c., are the principal, but now faint, memorials of its grandeur under its Arabian lords, and still attest the taste with which they adorned a place so favoured by nature, and so improved by human industry. The city stands partly on two hills, and partly between them. Its site is about two thousand two hundred feet above the level of the sea. The city is intersected by the Darro, which, by the distribution of its water even to the humblest dwellings, renders it clean and healthy. The Genil, which bathes its skirts, but sometimes inundates part of the city, joins the former river close to it, and the united streams eventually join the Guadalquivir. Both rivers, with their shaded banks forming charming walks, the Carrero de Darro, and the Carrero de Genil, render the surrounding country remarkably picturesque. The situation of the city is delightful. It stands towards the foot of the Sierra Nevada, and at the termination of La Vega, a rich garden constituting the chief part of this sloping plain, thirty leagues in circumference. Many of the gardens, which almost fill the Vega, are called Carmenes, their origin being shown by their name, which is derived from the Arabic word *karam*, "a vineyard," as they were primarily designed for the cultivation of the vine. The advantages of the soil are enhanced by the salubrity of the atmosphere, and the cool breezes which blow from the Sierra Nevada. The only disadvantage is occa-

sioned by the *solano*, as the hot wind from Africa, which sometimes blows directly on the coast, is termed. The air then becomes so intolerably sultry, and is so dangerous to animal, as well as pernicious to vegetable, life, that it might be called appropriately the Simoom of Southern Spain.

From this description of Granada, some idea of what it must have been in the days of the Moors may easily be formed. The inhabitants were numerous, and their industry secured them a plentiful subsistence. They were bold and courageous; but the martial enthusiasm of their fathers had passed away. The higher classes, indeed, were always prepared for war. The circumstances of their country rendered this necessary. Besides, the spirit of chivalry which pervaded Spain, likewise animated Granada. The Saracen Knights could not but be aware, too, that the next war would be decisive of their fate, and that the least evil of defeat would be the loss of their independence: the consequences might extend to the loss of their country. And such a country was well worth preserving. Fertile as to the means of subsistence, its hills and valleys and plains, its gardens and groves, supplied all that could elevate the imagination, and gratify the Moorish love of romance. If it were not the original country of their remote ancestors, it was one which their fathers had gained

by their prowess, and in which were the sepulchres of many generations. But their time for occupying it was nearly expired. Gradually they had receded from the Spaniards, whom their ancestors had shut up behind the Asturian mountains. Issuing from their southern defiles, the unconquered successors had persevered in the work of re-conquest, till the situation of the parties was exactly reversed. Once, the Spaniards had only a single province, while the invaders possessed the remainder of Spain. One province was now left to the Moors, while the Spaniards ruled over the rest of Spain. Shall the possession of this last province be retained? This was the question to be determined whenever a war broke out.

SECTION II.—THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR.

DURING the fifteenth century, and especially during its latter half, notwithstanding the oft-recurring movements of military opposition on both sides, yet a frequent and even friendly intercourse was maintained between the Spaniards and the Granadians. Acts of courtesy relieved the almost uninterrupted warfare that was necessarily kept up between those who were rivals under such peculiar circumstances. The Moorish and Christian Knights were in the habit of exchanging visits at the courts of their respective mas-

ters. At the tournaments held on great occasions, in both countries, the Knights of both were accustomed to attend. The Christian Knights were accustomed to repair to Granada, to settle their affairs of honour in the presence of the Moorish Sovereign. The disaffected nobles of Spain sometimes sought an asylum in Granada, and even fought under the Moslem banner. With this interchange of social courtesies, each nation contracted some of the peculiarities of the other. The Spaniard acquired something of the gravity and magnificence of demeanour proper to the Arabian; the Arabian relaxed his habitual reserve, and lost much of the jealousy and gross sensuality which characterize the nations of the East. The leading qualities of a true Knight were acknowledged on either side the frontier. These were,—piety, valour, courtesy, prowess, the gifts of poetry and eloquence, and dexterity in the management of the horse, the sword, the lance, and the bow. The history of the Spanish Arabs, especially in the latter wars of Granada, furnishes repeated examples, not merely of the heroism which distinguished the European chivalry of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but occasionally of a polished courtesy that might have graced a Bayard or a Sidney. This combination of Oriental magnificence and knightly prowess shed a ray of glory over the closing days of the Arabian empire in Spain, and served to

conceal, though it could not correct, the vices it possessed in common with all Mohammedan institutions. These, as belonging to the system, were ineradicable. The redeeming qualities which the later Spanish Moors possessed, were derived from a different source. They were the reflections of the light of that Christianity in the presence of which they dwelt. The parties, therefore, mutually respected each other; and the feeling, that the next war would be a final one, made each unwilling to throw in the spark which might kindle so destructive a flame.

Besides, the Spaniards well knew the compact strength of their opponents. The concentrated population of Granada enabled its Sovereigns to bring into the field an army of a hundred thousand men, besides keeping up the garrisons of their numerous fortresses. The nature of the country was every way favourable to resistance, as the Asturian mountains had been to Pelayo and his followers. There were defiles in which a few resolute men might maintain their position against multitudes. The Moors were eminently skilled in horsemanship; and, among the mountains of the country, the Arabian horse had a manifest advantage over the more powerful, but heavier, steel-clad cavalry of the Spaniards. The number of fortified places is supposed to have been ten times as great as now exist in the whole Peninsula; and, occasionally, supplies of men

were obtained from the warlike tribes of Africa.

Perhaps, after all, their great comparative strength lay in the weakness of their adversaries, through the dissensions occasioned by the partition of Spain into so many independent provinces. Any one of these singly would have attempted the conquest of Granada in vain. Gradually these had been diminishing, and virtually they had now ceased, with the prospect of real and complete union in another generation. Ferdinand and Isabella were agreed in their desire to annex Granada to their kingdom, and to leave united Spain as a heritage to their children. The Monarch then governing Granada was Muley Abul Hassan, who had succeeded his father, Aben Ismail, in 1466. In his youth he had been an able officer, and had made many successful irruptions into the Spanish territory. His father's disposition was amicable, and led him to cultivate friendly relations with the Spaniards. The son's was very different. A truce had been agreed upon between him and the rulers of Castile and Arragon; and when the two kingdoms were united, he did not readily perceive the altered position of affairs thus occasioned. The truce was renewable, on the payment of a tribute little more than nominal. In A.D. 1478, the period for its renewal arrived; and when the Spanish Ambassadors demanded payment of the

usual sum, Abul Hassan replied, that in the same place in Granada in which they coined money, they likewise forged arms, to prevent it being taken from them. This vain boast was an unhappy one for his country. It convinced Ferdinand and Isabella that the time for decisive measures was approaching, and they quickly made the requisite preparations. Abul Hassan, in fact, became almost the first victim of his own rashness. His subjects deposed him soon after hostilities had broken out, as the author of the calamities which they saw to be approaching; and, ultimately, he died in such poverty and distress, that his body had remained unburied, had it not been for the charity of some Christian captives, who placed it across the back of an ass, and found for it a place of interment.

At length, towards the close of A.D. 1481, the storm which had so long been gathering burst. Just across the western frontier, towards the north, was the small Andalusian town of Zahara. It crowned a lofty eminence, washed at its foot by the river Guadalete, and was strongly fortified. From its position, it seemed almost impregnable. The garrison, trusting to its natural defences, and unsuspecting of hostilities, was surprised by the Moorish Monarch on the night of the 26th of December. The distance between Zahara and his own fortified town of Ronda, was no greater than might be traversed in little more

than two hours. Abul Hassan, not dreaming that the times were changed, thought only of the incursions of his youth, which might be retaliated by other incursions, but would be followed by no other mischief. Watching for his opportunity, it was furnished by a violent tempest. His approach to Zahara was not heard: the walls were scaled, and the Moors were within the fortress, before any signs of their hostile intentions could be perceived. Those who resisted were put to the sword; and the remainder of the population, men, women, and children, carried into slavery, according to the usual practice on either side.

The intelligence of this disaster at first caused deep mortification to the Spanish Sovereigns. Ferdinand was the more deeply affected, because it was his grandfather who had recovered Zahara from the Moors, after having been long in their possession. Measures were immediately adopted for strengthening the whole frontier-line, and guarding, if possible, against Moorish irruption at any point. The utmost vigilance, likewise, was exerted to detect some weak point in the enemy's line of defence, through which it might be possible to penetrate, for the purpose of inflicting successful retaliation. The Moors themselves received not the tidings with the usual joy. They had forebodings as to the issue. The common people were told by some, who pretended

to read the fortunes of nations in the varying positions of the stars, that the appearances of the heavens were all threatening. Thinking men drew their prognostics from a surer source ; but they were equally unfavourable. The King might fancy that divisions would, as formerly, lessen Spanish power ; but there were many who saw that circumstances were altered,—that the Spaniards were united as they had never been previously ; and that, therefore, the conduct of their Sovereign was not only rash, but ruinous ;—rash, in that he thus needlessly provoked a powerful foe ; ruinous, because that foe would be satisfied with nothing less than the complete subjugation of his opponents. An ancient counsellor, on quitting the hall of audience, to which he and others had been summoned, to receive the announcement of the capture of Zahara, exclaimed, “Woe is me ! The ruins of Zahara will fall on our heads. The days of the Moslem empire in Spain are numbered !”

He might well say so. The boasting Monarch fancied himself secure, anticipating only the usual retaliation, by some partial and temporary irruption into his dominions, in which none but his subjects would be the sufferers. Wise men, who were observant of the altered state of affairs, and who knew the influences which governed human nature, would see that the Spaniards must desire to free the land from those who, however long

they had possessed it, possessed it as foreign conquerors, and only in virtue of conquest. The sword had established their title; the sword might destroy it. Will, in the history of the past, from the first descent from the Asturian mountains, to the present moment of extended dominion, had never been wanting. Only power was lacking. That lack was now apparently supplied. They could not doubt but that the appearance indicated a reality which would be tried on the first opportunity. Provocation to the trial had now been given. Would the trial be made?

Occasion for retaliation was not long wanting. The city of Alhama, famous for its baths, as the Arabic name imports, was situated in the heart of the Moorish territories. From Antequera it was distant about eight leagues, the north-western frontier being half-way between them, and the whole country mountainous. The fortress was built on the crest of a lofty eminence, part of a *sierra* whose higher ridges were three thousand feet above the level of the sea. The city, though slightly lower down, was connected with it. The fortifications were so strong, that, together with the advantages of situation, the place was judged to be impregnable. It was noted for its splendour and wealth. The annual rent of its baths amounted to five hundred thousand ducats. The Monarchs, with their court, often resorted to it; so that it became embel-

lished with all the Oriental magnificence of a royal residence for pleasure. The treasury for the land-tax, the principal branch of the revenue of the kingdom, was established there. Its cloth manufactures were celebrated throughout Granada; so that commerce, pleasure, and government contributed to its riches. In addition to its natural advantages for defence, as Granada was only eight leagues distant, (to the north-east,) and as it could only be reached by passing through one of the most populous (and at the same time one of the most hilly) portions of the Moorish territory, it was thought to be beyond all danger of surprise. This rendered the garrison negligent. Perhaps the character of the community contributed to this result. A place of wealth and pleasure, apparently secure from all surprisal, was not the school to train up soldiers in vigilance. And so they found it.

Diego de Merlo was Commander at Seville. A Captain of scalers, (so denominated from the particular branch of service in which they were employed, in besieging cities,) Juan de Ortega by name, a man who had acquired some reputation in the wars which had been some time before carried on in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, had been at Alhama; and as the eyes of men who are skilful in any profession see at once, in relation to it, what would escape the notice of an ordinary observer, so indications of

negligence which he could not mistake were detected. On his return, he mentioned this to his Commander. De Merlo was struck with the advantages which might arise from the conquest of such a place; but he saw the formidable difficulties which would have to be surmounted. But the surprise and capture of Zahara had excited an eager desire for retaliation; and therefore he communicated the information which he had received to Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz. This nobleman, as a soldier equally brave and skilful, at all times disliking inactivity, and always ready to embrace every opportunity of distinguishing himself, had at this time particular reasons for engaging in any undertaking on which the two Sovereigns would look with favour. In the disputes which arose respecting the succession of Isabella to the throne of Castile, he had been opposed to her interests. Subsequently, he had incurred the displeasure of the Monarchs by prosecuting one of those hereditary feuds which had been common at an earlier period, but which they were resolved to suppress, as altogether inconsistent with social well-being and progress. He was now residing in his castle at Arcos, some forty or fifty miles south of Seville, a few miles from the western frontier of the Moorish kingdom, anxious for an opportunity of indulging his warlike temper, and obtaining, at the same time, the favour of the

Sovereigns, with whose united power he plainly saw he could not safely trifle. The communication which he received from the Commander at Seville was equally suited to his general character, and to his peculiar circumstances and wishes. He at once resolved to engage in the enterprise; and, with the assistance of his friends, speedily and quietly assembled a force of two thousand five hundred horse, and three thousand foot. Marchena, a town between twenty and thirty miles from Seville, was appointed as the grand rendezvous. From thence, somewhat more than forty miles would bring them to Antequera, twenty-five miles from Alhama, the frontier being about half-way between them. Their proposed route was across wild *sierras*, and was rendered more difficult by the determination to avoid frequented paths, and to travel only by night. Success depended on secrecy and surprise.

The expedition began to march, February 25th, 1482. The tempestuous weather favoured their object, though it exposed them to numerous hardships, as the mountain-streams had all swelled to torrents. On the night of the 27th, they paused in a deep valley, two miles from Alhama. So great had been the care of the leader, that the movements of this numerous body of men had not been noticed. Not till the soldiers were within the reach of their prey, was the object of

the expedition made known to them. They were in the highest degree inspirited by the prospect of so rich a booty. The plan of assault was fixed. Juan de Ortega, at the head of thirty men, was to surmount the rocky height on which stood the citadel, and, if possible, scale the walls without noise. The Marquis was to move forward more leisurely, to be prepared to take the earliest advantage of success. The night was dark, and a raging tempest of wind and rain drowned what noise they might make in either their approach or their final attempt. They started so as to reach the walls some time before daybreak. Having fixed their ladders, they gained the battlements unobserved. They found a sentinel asleep, and slew him at once; and, proceeding cautiously to the guard-room, so surprised the little garrison, that, after the short and ineffectual resistance which men suddenly aroused from slumber could make, they were all put to the sword, and the gates of the citadel which opened into the country were thrown open. The town was now alarmed; but the citadel was taken; and, soon after daylight appeared, the Marquis entered with the remainder of his forces. The conquest, however, was not completed. The Moors, as well as the Spaniards, knew the value of the prize, and contended as boldly for its preservation, as did the others for its acquisition. Barricades were erected across the streets; every

inch of ground was contested. The carnage was terrible. The battle did not cease till the close of day, when a complete victory remained with the assailants. The city was then delivered up to the soldiers for plunder; and the booty did not fall below their expectations. A large portion of the inhabitants had been slain. The rest, according to the custom of the day, became the prize of the victors. A considerable number of Christian captives were found and liberated.

The tidings of the capture of Alhama soon reached Granada. The fears of the timid and foreboding had now been verified. An old ballad exists, composed, it is believed, soon after the event, which mournfully expresses the feelings which had been awakened. Each verse (of four trochaic lines) describes some aspects of the misery which the disaster had occasioned, and ends with what is the oft-repeated burden of the song,—*Ay de mi, Alhama!* “Woe is me, Alhama!” The old King, indeed, resolved to win back what he justly deemed one of the brightest jewels of his crown. He sent a body of a thousand horse, to reconnoitre the place, and prepared to follow with powerful levies. On the 5th of March he appeared before Alhama with a besieging army of three thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot. The Spaniards had put the citadel and town in order for defence. The first attack, though violent, being unsuccessful, the

siege was converted into a blockade. The town was chiefly supplied with water from the river which flowed at the bottom of the hill ; but all access to this was cut off by the Moors. One well had been sunk from the top of the hill ; but Abul Hassan had skilful miners in his army, and the springs were soon diverted into another channel. The distress of the besieged was becoming great ; but their spirit was indomitable. The Marquis knew that he might soon look for succour, and he resolved not to yield so long as he was able to hold out.

Nor were his expectations vain. The utmost joy was experienced in Spain. Ferdinand was resolved not to allow this first step towards the long-desired object to be wrested from his possession. Orders for levying troops were promptly issued ; and he set out for the frontier, leaving Isabella to complete the preparations for raising a sufficient army to maintain the important conquest, and to follow more leisurely.

In the mean time, others had caught the enthusiasm of the occasion. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, though a feud had existed between him and the Marquis of Cadiz, had already been able, by his great wealth and his numerous followers, to raise an army of five thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, with which he was marching towards Alhama. Ferdinand sent word to him to pause, that he might take the command

of the forces ; but the Duke respectfully apologized for a disobedience which the exigency of the case seemed to render necessary, and pressed forward. He was right in his calculations. The Moorish Monarch saw himself on the verge of being hemmed in between the besieged and the relieving army. On the 29th of March, therefore, he withdrew from Alhama, and returned to Granada. The Spanish army likewise withdrew, leaving a sufficient garrison for defence against all attacks. The old King was ready to seize every opportunity, and again marched to the siege ; but Ferdinand had now collected an army stronger than ever ; and the Moors were taught, that the Spanish Monarchs regarded Alhama as a permanent possession of the Spanish crown. On the 14th of May, the besieging forces were again withdrawn, and the Spaniards took full possession of the place. Ferdinand now ordered an incursion from Alhama into the Vega ; and the foray extended to the very gates of Granada. According to the barbarous custom of the age, the green, unripened crops, together with all the vine-trees, were destroyed ; and the inhabitants of the capital, though as yet safe in their strongly-fortified and well-defended city, saw from its walls the merciless ruin which had been so heedlessly provoked.

Isabella was actively engaged in directing measures for carrying on the war to its designed,

and indeed anticipated, conclusion. No wonder that her noble and pious mind entered fully into the plans devised by her crafty and more worldly husband. The success of the Saracens, seven hundred years previously, had been the success of the False Prophet against the church of the Christ of the true God. But the success had not been complete. A remnant had been left. That remnant had never ceased to enlarge its borders. Superior strength was now on the side of the Church. It was possible that Spain might once more become entirely a Christian country. She who patronised Columbus because she hoped that in unknown regions the banner of the Cross might wave in triumph, would rejoice with sincerely pious joy that the hopes, cherished for centuries, were now likely to be realized. Ferdinand, with his counsellors, had already determined to make the attempt to render complete the long preceding course of conquest. The whole country was alive. Men, arms, provisions, were all to be ready by the 1st of July, when Ferdinand was to take the field in person, and commence operations, which it was hoped would be final, by laying siege to the strong post of Loja, about fifteen miles northward from Alhama, and about twenty-five southwest from Granada, only five miles within the frontier.

The Moors, also, were preparing in earnest for

their defence in a struggle in which they felt that, if defeated, they would lose all. Messages were sent to their brethren in Africa, stating their danger, and urging on them the necessity of prompt and efficient relief. But here, too, they were anticipated. The Sovereigns had ordered a fleet to be fitted out, and placed under the command of two of their bravest and most skilful Admirals. By these the sea was swept from the Straits of Gibraltar a sufficient distance eastward into the Mediterranean, and all possibility of communication was precluded. *The war had indeed broken out.*

SECTION III.—THE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR.

LOJA was situated in a delightful valley, watered by the Genil, and luxuriant in vineyards and olive-gardens. The valley was, however, very circumscribed, and the city was so entrenched among rugged hills, that the motto on its arms, "A flower among thorns," has been not inappropriately assumed. In the days of the Moors it was defended by a strong fortress. On the south it was partly surrounded by the Genil, like a deep moat, forming an excellent rampart against the approaches of a besieging army, as it was fordable only in one place, and traversed by a single bridge, easily commanded from the walls. The Moorish King, taking

warning from the fate of Alhama, had added to the garrison three thousand of his choicest men, under the command of Aly Atar, a skilful and experienced warrior.

The supplies ordered by the Spanish Monarchs had come in somewhat slowly, and many of the men were new recruits, unacquainted with the duties and hardships of military service. On mustering them, towards the latter end of June, the army was found not to exceed four thousand horse, and eight thousand foot. The King was advised, in these circumstances, to move against some weaker post. But his newly-kindled ardour for once got the better of his usual prudence. On the 1st of July he appeared before Loja; but the numerous ravines among which the army had to be encamped, prevented due communication between its several portions, while the level plains were intersected with numerous canals, rendering the ground most unfavourable for combined action. A lofty eminence, called the Heights of Albohacen, commanded the city. A strong detachment was ordered to occupy it, with such few pieces of ordnance as had been brought into the field. Before the entrenchments could be completed, Aly Atar, aware of the importance of the place, marched to the attack. The Spaniards issued from the works to receive them. He almost immediately fled, and the Spaniards eagerly pursued. A party of Moorish light

cavalry had been planted in ambush in the line of retreat, and, when their enemies had passed them, galloped into the deserted camp, destroyed the works, and bore away the arms and ammunition they found there. The Spaniards saw their mistake, and hastened back. But Aly Atar kept closely on their rear, and, when they arrived at the summit of the hill, they found themselves hemmed in between two bodies of the Moors. Ferdinand had to send large reinforcements; and Aly Atar, after a persevering contest, was so far overpowered by numbers, that he was compelled to return to the city. The retreat, however, was conducted in good order. This check dispirited the army. Provisions began to be scarce, and the means of cooking them proved to be so insufficient, that the men had to eat their meat almost raw. Sickness added to the prevailing discontent: many deserted, and Ferdinand resolved to fall back as far as Rio Frio, till fresh reinforcements should enable him to carry on his operations more efficiently. Early in the morning of July 4th, this movement began to be executed. Its object had not been communicated to the army. As soon as the Moors saw the departure of the Spaniards from the Heights of Albohacen, they hastened to take possession of them. In the first light of day, the men in the camp saw the Moorish arms glittering on the summit, and their countrymen rapidly descend-

ing. They imagined their friends had been surprised and defeated. The whole camp was alarmed, and numbers only thought of saving themselves by flight. Aly Atar saw the confusion, and rushed forth in great strength from the city; and the army was for some time in the most imminent danger. It was only saved by the coolness and courage of Ferdinand. Putting himself at the head of the Royal Guards, and a small body of Cavaliers, he withstood the whole attack of the Moors, and thus won time for the restoration of order. He was repeatedly in peril of his life. Eventually, the Moors were driven back; and Ferdinand conducted his army to a strong post twenty miles distant. A short time after, Abul Hassan arrived with a powerful reinforcement. Had they come a few hours earlier, while the conflict was raging, the destruction of the Spanish forces must have ensued. By such seemingly trivial circumstances are such great events often determined. Ferdinand soon after returned to Cordova, checked and disappointed, but not altered in his purpose. Abandoning all immediate operations, he resolved to wait till he was prepared to prosecute the war with the strength and vigour necessary, as late events had taught him, to insure ultimate success.

At this juncture, a circumstance occurred among the Moors eminently favourable to the

Christian cause, and growing out of one of the fundamental vices of Mohammedan society. One of the causes of Spanish strength, at this time, arose out of the sanctity of Christian marriage. Ferdinand and Isabella, though heads of their respective dominions, were so united, that Castile and Arragon were practically under one sovereignty. Polygamy gave the last blow to the strength of the Moors. The old King became so strongly attached to a Greek slave, that the Sultana, Zoraya, fearing lest her son should be removed from the succession, raised a strong faction against her husband. She was joined by many persons of rank, who were disgusted with the oppressive government of Abul Hassan. The populace, discontented with him for having provoked the Spanish war, from which they dreaded so much, espoused their cause. A sanguinary civil war broke out in Granada, Abul Hassan was driven from the throne, and took refuge in Malaga, which, with some other towns, still remained faithful to him. Boabdil, his eldest son, was raised to the throne in the capital by the triumphant rebels. He was the last Moorish Sovereign of Granada.

Military operations on a large scale were for a time suspended; but frequent incursions were made into the Moorish territories, from which the Granadians sustained losses which, to them, from the narrow limits of the kingdom, were

peculiarly distressing. Sometimes, beside other valuable booty, as many as from thirty to fifty thousand head of cattle were carried off.

One of these forays, however, issued most disastrously for the Spaniards. On March 19th, 1483, a body of nearly six thousand men, half of them mounted, issued from the gates of Antequera, for the purpose of penetrating as far as Malaga. Their line of march, almost to the neighbourhood of that city, was marked by rapine and slaughter; but the whole country was roused, flew to arms, and the Spaniards commenced their retreat, laden with booty. Obligated to travel by the most unfrequented and difficult roads, they soon began to be exhausted by fatigue. The Moors avoided a close encounter, but harassed them from the heights, rolled down stones upon them, and, before long, the retreat became a disorderly flight, in which the spoil was thrown away, and care only taken for escape with life. In some places, such was their position in relation to their foes, that they were slaughtered without being able to defend themselves, like the first invaders of Spain in the defile leading to the cavern of Covadonga. Eventually, not more than half the number returned; and these came back, not, as they had marched proudly forth, in all the pomp of warlike array, but as defeated and scattered fugitives. The enterprise had been undertaken

chiefly by the chivalry of Andalusia; and there were few families of rank which had not to deplore the captivity or death of some of their principal members.

**SECTION IV.—CAPTURE OF KING BOABDIL;
AND PARTIAL SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES.**

THIS success had been won by the followers of old Abul Hassan. Boabdil, at Granada, knowing that popular favour is uncertain, in order to secure its continuance, planned an attack on the Spanish town of Lucena, a few miles across the frontier, about forty miles to the north-west of the capital. A large body of his Knights, as well as other soldiers, accompanied him. About the middle of April they sallied forth, passed by Lucena almost to Cordova, (thirty miles further to the north,) and returned with a rich booty to Lucena, which they began to besiege on the 21st of April. But the Commandant there, having heard of the projected expedition, had put the place into a condition of defending itself till relieved, and had written to his uncle, the Count de Cabra, at Baena, for assistance. Scarcely had Boabdil arrived before Lucena, when the succour came: the garrison made a vigorous sortie, and, after a sharp contest, in which Aly Atar, the veteran Chieftain, "the best lance" of the Moors, was slain, the invaders retreated. They preserved some order

till they reached the Genil, then swollen by excessive rains. The difficulty of crossing the stream occasioned general confusion, and defeat became slaughter. The disaster was as great to the Moorish chivalry as the last Spanish incursion had been to the Spaniards. But to the Moors a disaster occurred fraught with ruinous consequences. Borne down by his foes, seeing his most noble guards fall around him, Boabdil sought concealment among the reeds on the banks of the river, till the battle-field should be cleared. He was discovered; and, having announced his name to preserve his life, he was led as a captive to the Count de Cabra. He was received with the courtesy due to a fallen Monarch, and conducted to the Count's castle at Baena. The Moorish King was a prisoner in the hands of his Christian enemies.

Ferdinand hastened to the south to secure the advantages thus opened to him. On the other hand, Zoraya, the mother of Boabdil, fearing lest his absence should occasion the restoration of the old Monarch, lost no time in sending envoys to the Spanish court, offering almost all that Ferdinand could require. For the pageant of royalty, she and her son were willing to barter the independence of their country. The terms of liberation were soon settled. A truce of two years was to be granted to Boabdil, and the places acknowledging his authority. He, in

return, stipulated to surrender four hundred Christian captives without ransom, to pay twelve thousand dollars of gold annually, to permit a free passage to the Spanish troops, and to furnish them with supplies when warring on his father, to appear before Ferdinand whenever summoned, and to put his own son, and the children of his principal nobility, into the hands of the Spanish Monarchs as hostages. Soon after, he set out for his capital, escorted to the frontier by a body of Andalusian horse.

From this period, for nearly four years, the war, as between Boabdil and Spain, was suspended,—if that could be called suspension, in which hostilities against the subjects of the old King were regularly carried on. Forays were not only frequent, but systematic. Not only were the resources of the country diminished and weakened by these, but many fortresses and small towns, with extensive tracts of country, were won from the Monarch of Malaga. These were not surrendered to the authority of the King reigning at Granada, but placed under that of the Spanish crown. It was evident, however Boabdil might attempt to conceal from himself the melancholy fact, that power was gradually passing away from him, and that the days of Arab domination in Spain were coming rapidly to an end.

All the while, Ferdinand was preparing on a

grand scale for the resumption of the war. Of the suspicious truce with one King, and of successful hostilities with the other, he availed himself, for the construction of roads, or the removal of difficulties of passage, to open a free journey for his troops to every part of the territory of his doomed rivals. Large bodies of men were gradually collected at Cordova, and full stores of arms and weapons were provided, together with such ordnance as were then customarily employed, and abundant ammunition. It was plainly his intention, when the time came, to render successful resistance altogether hopeless. It was the care of the Sovereigns, not only that their troops should be numerous, but well trained. The forays always kept many of them engaged in actual service, in which they were thus acquiring skill; while the leisure afforded by the nominal truce enabled the King, whose forces were drawn from all parts of Spain, to train them in exact military discipline, and to accustom them to act together without any provincial rivalry.

The Sovereigns were careful to keep alive, in all these proceedings, the religious feelings so deeply seated in the Spanish character. Their enemies were the enemies of the true faith. It was a crusade,—a war against the Moslem infidels. They were attended in their expeditions by Churchmen of the highest rank. Every

instance of success was celebrated by the Queen, at Cordova, by solemn processions and thanksgivings. When the King returned from his campaigns, he was received at the city gates, and escorted in pomp to the cathedral church beneath a rich canopy of state. Tidings of their triumphant progress were regularly transmitted to the Pope, who sent back his formal benediction, together with marks of favour, that Ferdinand would not value less highly, in bulls of crusade, and taxes on ecclesiastical rents in Spain. The Pope was liberal in his gifts; only it was at the expense of others.

Solemn ceremonies were likewise performed on the occupation of every new conquest, powerfully affecting the imagination and the feelings. An officer of high rank raised the standard of the Cross on the highest wall of the principal fortress, all who witnessed it knelt down, and the anthem, *Te Deum laudamus*, was sung by the Priests in full chorus. The ensign of St. James, the knightly patron, was then unfolded and set up, and his intercession was invoked. The banner of the Sovereigns, emblazoned with the royal arms, was then displayed; and the soldiers and other spectators shouted aloud. After these ceremonies, a solemnity more directly religious ensued. The Clergy, headed by the Bishop, went in procession to the principal mosque, rites of purification were performed,

and the building was consecrated to be thenceforward a Christian church.

While their foes were thus increasing in strength, the Moors were becoming weaker, not only by the effects of such harassing hostilities, but still more by their intestine broils. Boabdil had his favourers; but the sterner Moors despised him for his dependence on Spain: Abul Hassan was set aside, and his brother, Abdalla, surnamed El Zagal, "the Valiant," was raised to the throne. He was a courageous and daring soldier, a type of the Saracens of a sterner age. He determined, if possible, to possess an unshared throne; and, for that purpose, set out with a strong force for Granada, where he knew he would be welcomed by many. On his way, he fell in with a number of Calatrava Knights from Alhama. He put them all to the sword, and entered into Granada with their bloody heads hanging as trophies from the saddlebows of his men. Boabdil, for a short time, was driven from his throne, and sought protection from the Sovereigns, then at Seville. Ferdinand, true to his policy, sent him back, with the means of supporting himself against his rival, El Zagal. Granada was built on two eminences, with the river Darro flowing between. The factions possessed themselves of these, and from time to time made attacks on their respective positions. Within the gates of the city a

dreadful contest was carried on for fifty days and nights; and those who should have united to defend their country, were savagely slaughtering each other. The burden of the song is changed. It is not merely, "Woe is me, Alhama!" it has also become, "Woe is me, Granada!" By the end of A.D. 1486 the Spaniards had advanced their line of conquest sixty miles beyond the western frontier. This extensive tract they strongly fortified, and peopled it, partly with Christian subjects, partly with Moors who were willing to be submissive to Spain, on condition of being governed by their own laws. Many strong places, also, had been taken. Besides the capital, with which a precarious truce was observed,—Granada was to be the last devoured,—Malaga was the principal place that held out. Against this place it was resolved that the whole strength of the monarchy should be directed in the ensuing campaign.

SECTION V.—HOSTILITIES FORMALLY RECOMMENCED.

AT the southern extremity of a range of mountains, extending from Granada to the southwest, stood the strong town of Velez Malaga, fifteen miles from Malaga. For various reasons it was thought best to commence operations here. On the 7th of April, 1487, Ferdinand, at the head of a well-trained and well-provided army of

twelve thousand horse and forty thousand foot, marched out of Cordova amidst the acclamations of its inhabitants, and on the 17th appeared before Velez Malaga. The siege was conducted with such vigour, that the inhabitants soon became convinced that resistance was useless; and on the 27th they capitulated, on the usual conditions of security to persons, property, and religion. Twenty places of less note followed their example; so that the approaches to Malaga were now laid open.

Malaga, as a commercial city, under the Moors had become very wealthy. It was of great extent, and very strongly fortified. Its citadel (which had a fortress connected with it by a covered way) was deemed almost impregnable. Many of the wealthy burgesses were disposed to yield; but the Moorish Commander was resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. Before Ferdinand could reach the plain of Malaga, several severe contests took place. The Moors fought with desperation. Quarter was given on neither side. Ferdinand was wishful to spare the inhabitants the horrors of siege and storm, and renewed his offers and promises. They were refused, as usual. Unwilling to injure the town seriously, he refrained for a time from the employment of his heavier artillery, hoping that the effects of the blockade would soon be felt. Sorties, producing sanguinary conflicts, were

almost of daily occurrence. At length, the exterior fortifications were taken by storm. The magazines were almost empty. The people were reduced to the most fearful extremities. Famine produced pestilence, as usual. The Moorish Commander at length withdrew into the citadel, the inhabitants surrendered at discretion, and on the 18th of August the Sovereigns made their victorious entrance into Malaga, attended by their court, the Clergy, and the whole of their military array.

The doom of the conquered city had now to be pronounced. Ferdinand was called "the Catholic," because of his zeal for religion. At nothing done by *him*, however, will they who understand human nature be surprised. He was a living impersonation of frigid selfishness. But Isabella was sincerely pious,—a wife,—a mother,—a woman: yet we hear of no attempts on her part to lessen the severity of the sentence. The whole multitude were doomed to slavery! One third were to be transported to Africa, in exchange for an equal number of Christian captives. Another third were to be sold to reimburse the State for the expenses of the war. The remainder were to be distributed as presents at home and abroad. Were no intercessors to be found among the Clergy? They were the admirers and willing vassals of the Inquisition! The excuse of the customs of the age may not

be pleaded for Rome. She had infallibility! She could curse Moors and Jews for their errors. Had she no thunders for blood-thirsty cruelty?

One occurrence, however, history will record as only attributable to Ferdinand. Isabella, though erring, was noble and generous. Ferdinand was mean and treacherous. Many of his doings can only be described by the coarse but expressive modern phrase of *swindling*. Fearing that the Malagans, despairing of any amendment in their condition, might secrete their most valuable property, thinking that they could not fare worse than they had reason to anticipate, "Ferdinand devised a politic expedient for preventing it." He offered to receive a certain sum as a ransom for the whole, if paid within nine months, their personal effects being admitted in payment as far as the value of them would go. Their hopes were so far deluded, that they gave up their property, and sought to raise contributions in Granada and Africa. The sum was less than Ferdinand demanded. But his end was gained. He kept their persons, and obtained their property! The Saxon punishment of the pillory, with its most disgusting accompaniments, has often been inflicted—and believed to be deservedly inflicted—on fraudulent criminals, immeasurably less guilty than Ferdinand the Catholic. Had Dante, with his scorching

pen, lived after him, where would he have found a place for him? The most obvious branches of morality were trampled upon. Yet none of the Clergy had a word to speak on the side of eternal justice and truth! On the memory even of Isabella the stain is ineffaceable. Her only excuse is, that she believed it to be her duty, in all matters of religion, to submit her conduct to the Clergy. To have judged concerning any point of moral obligation for herself, would have been criminal. And here is the great danger to be apprehended from Popery:—it avails itself equally of the vices and of the virtues of its votaries, and makes them alike subservient to its designs. Mr. Prescott's judgment on these proceedings deserves to be recorded, as showing that the opinions of the present writer are not different from his. He says, "Even in this very transaction she fell far short of the suggestions of some of her counsellors, who urged her to put every inhabitant, without exception, to the sword; which, they affirmed, would be a just requital of their obstinate *rebellion*, and would prove a wholesome warning to others! We are not told who the advisers of this precious measure were; but the whole experience of this reign shows, that we shall scarcely wrong the Clergy much by imputing it to them. That their arguments could warp so enlightened a mind as that of Isabella, from the natural prin-

ciples of justice and humanity, furnishes a remarkable proof of the ascendancy which the priesthood usurped over the most gifted intellects, and of their gross abuse of it, before the Reformation, by breaking the seals set on the sacred volume, opened to mankind the uncorrupted channel of divine truth."*

It may just be added, to complete these notices of Malaga, that, as the city was now depopulated, measures were immediately taken for re-peopling it with Spaniards. Houses and lands were freely granted to all who were willing to settle there; and numerous towns and villages, with a wide extent of territory, were placed under its civil jurisdiction: it was also made the head, ecclesiastically, of a diocese, embracing most of the recent conquests in the south and west of Granada. The city soon began to assume a more cheerful aspect, and, in the view of this, the Sovereigns would perhaps forget what had been done to the former inhabitants. Ferdinand had performed a piece of successful policy: Isabella had conquered her natural humanity, and submitted her conscience to the judgment of her spiritual guides. Such are the mysteries which history has often to record. It is not given to man to unravel all the schemes of Divine Providence. He is to rest in the perfection of the

* Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. ii., p. 120.

divine character. The Judge of all the earth will do right. Nor is this man's only state of being. The revelations and decisions of the great day are yet to come. That which we know not now, we shall know hereafter.

SECTION VI.—THE WAR DRAWS NEARER TO
GRANADA.

AFTER the regulations respecting the future condition of Malaga had been completed, Ferdinand and Isabella led back their forces to Cordova. They had now leisure to devote their attention to the affairs of the other parts of their empire. But the Moors were not forgotten. It was now obvious that complete and final success was certain, if efforts were put forth adequate to the greatness of the attempt. Spain, however, had felt the effects of the expensive plans of the last few years: it was resolved, therefore, to undertake a part only of what remained to be achieved. In June, A.D. 1488, Ferdinand proceeded to Murcia, in the south-eastern part of Spain, where an army of twenty thousand men had been collected; much less than had been employed in the preceding year, but sufficiently large for the purposes at present contemplated. Granada had been conquered at its south-western extremity: its eastern portion was now to be attacked, leaving the central part, including the capital, untouched. El Zagal was

his principal antagonist, and bravely resisted the attacks that were made on him. The campaign was signalized by no brilliant achievement; but a considerable number of fortresses, and some towns of inferior note, were added to the Spanish dominion.

In the spring of A.D. 1489, Ferdinand collected his troops at Jaen, about fifty miles eastward from Cordova, and forty northward from the city of Granada; being about as far from the frontier, (in its central part,) on the Spanish side, as the capital was within it. His army was now more numerous than ever. El Zagal had fixed the seat of his dominion at Baza. Its distance from Granada was between fifty and sixty miles, in a direction about E.N.E. from the capital. It was about ten miles from the nearest point of the frontier. Like Granada, it was surrounded at a little distance with rugged mountains; but it stood in the midst of a luxuriant Vega. Through this flowed the streams of the Guadalentin and the Guadalquiron; and the waters of these were distributed over the plain by numberless canals, intended for irrigation. The Moors, in their usual fondness for gardens, had surrounded Baza with them; and next the city was a thick forest of trees, ornamental and fruit-bearing: interspersed among them were many of the villas and pleasure-houses of the richer inhabitants. The broken nature of the ground, and

the quantity of trees, rendered this as favourable a field for the defensive tactics of the light-armed Moors, as it was unsuitable for the movements of the Spanish chivalry, and the offensive combinations of the heavy-armed foot. The city was strongly fortified, and was garrisoned by ten thousand troops of its own, besides an equal number of picked men from Almeria, under the command of a relation of El Zagal, the Moorish Prince Cidi Yahye. The old King had removed to Guadix, half way on the road to Granada, ready to watch any sally from the capital, as his rival still remained quiet, in virtue of his truce with Ferdinand. His time was not come. Others had to be devoured before him. Baza, too, had provisions for fifteen months; and the unripe crops had been gathered, to preserve them from the hands of the enemy.

In the beginning of June, the invading army passed the frontier. Several harassing skirmishes took place, which evinced that the victory would not be easily won. But the army kept advancing, though opposed at almost every step. Several places in the way were taken; and the invaders had at length descended from the hills into the Vega of Baza. But here their usual success appeared at length to pause. The full difficulties of the position were experienced. The Moors availed themselves of these to the utmost. Conflict after conflict took place; and,

though the Spaniards seldom failed to be victorious, they made no perceptible advances towards the capture of the town. El Zagal hoped every thing from delay. The soldiers would be less zealous. Provisions might fail. Sickness might thin the numbers, and diminish the strength, of the army. And if Baza could hold out till winter brought its storms, increasing the mountain-streams to torrents, and inundating the plain, the enemy might be compelled to retreat. Constant sallies were made from the town, which were always fiercely contested, the soldiers fighting man to man. El Zagal, indeed, still remained at Guadix, with a considerable force. He could not trust his rival. Had these troops been set free for active service, and had Boabdil brought forward his own in addition, the issue of the campaign might have been very different. But the young Monarch remained true to Ferdinand, though some of his subjects rose against him on that account; and it was with difficulty that the insurrection was put down. He might believe himself bound in honour to Ferdinand; and that the Spanish Monarch, in equal honour, having subdued the eastern and western portions of the Moorish kingdom, would allow him to occupy the centre in peace. He had yet to learn the perfidy and cruelty of Ferdinand the Catholic and his ghostly advisers.

During the summer a singular mission was

received from the Mohammedan Sultan of Egypt. The Moors of Granada had solicited his intercession. The Sultan sent two Franciscan Friars, who were directed to remonstrate with the Sovereigns against their persecution of the Moors, and to contrast this with the protection which the Sultan extended to the Christians in his dominions. Measures of retaliation were intimated, in case this persecution should not cease. The reply was, that the Sovereigns observed the same policy towards both their Mohammedan and their Christian subjects ;—[true ; but not in the Sultan's sense. They allowed to all the liberty of believing as they were commanded to do ; but they who claimed to exercise any other right, were conducted to the stake ;—] but they could no longer submit to see their ancient and rightful inheritance in the hands of strangers ; and that, if these would consent to be their true and loyal subjects, they should experience the same paternal indulgence which had been shown to their brethren. Ferdinand should have added, to express the *whole* truth,—And which they will continue to experience till they become unable to resist a contrary mode of treatment. To console the Friars for their want of success, so far as the Moors were concerned, handsome presents were made them ; a yearly pension of one thousand ducats was settled on their monastery in Palestine by the Queen, who likewise presented

them with a richly-embroidered veil, to be suspended over the holy sepulchre !

The siege went on with spirit ; but success seemed no nearer. The soldiers became exhausted and discouraged, especially as the rainy season was now fast approaching. Even some of the more zealous Commanders began to advise a different mode of proceeding. Smaller places, they thought, should be attacked, and the dominions of El Zagal narrowed. With diminished resources, Baza, in another campaign or two, might be an easy prey. Five months had they besieged the place. Torrents of blood had been shed, and it was still unsubdued. Isabella had been all this time residing at Jaen, chiefly attending to the provision of necessary supplies. She now resolved to visit the camp. But first she raised large sums of money, to meet the enormous expenses which had been incurred, pawning even the crown jewels and her personal ornaments to the merchants of Barcelona and Valentia. She procured great quantities of corn from the last harvest, had it ground into good flour, and employed not less than fourteen thousand mules, between Jaen and the camp, in pouring in abundant supplies. On the 7th of November she went in person, attended with her court and a splendid retinue, infusing fresh spirit into the besiegers.

Probably her visit had an opposite effect on

the besieged. In a few days after her arrival they proposed a parley, for arranging terms of capitulation. An armistice was agreed on, that the old Monarch at Guadix might be consulted. His Alcayde went to him, described the condition of the place, and the resolution of the besiegers. He undertook to continue the defence, but said that, without reasonable hopes of succour, longer resistance would only occasion a needless waste of life, and prevent him from obtaining the terms on which he might now insist. The Moslem King yielded, and authorized him to negotiate for a surrender on the best terms that could be obtained. Ferdinand, too, was well inclined to moderation. Perhaps he felt the impolicy—its injustice and inhumanity he was incapable of feeling—of his dealings with Malaga. Besides, Baza was still capable of maintaining an imposing attitude. He agreed, therefore, that the foreign troops should march out with all the honours of war; that the city, indeed, should be delivered up to the Christians, but that the natives might have the choice of withdrawing, with their effects, where they pleased; or of occupying the suburbs, as subjects of the Spanish Sovereign, liable only to the same tribute which they paid to their own Prince, and secured in the enjoyment of their property, laws, usages, and religion. On these stipulations, to which Spanish honour and Christian faith were thus pledged,

they yielded up the place. How these stipulations were observed, will have to be recorded on a subsequent page. Ferdinand was under the control of those who considered that no faith was to be kept with heretics and unbelievers. Where, indeed, his own personal authority was concerned, he could be as rebellious as any Protestant potentate subsequently : as his grandson could, at an after-period, profess great homage for the Holy See, and yet seize upon Rome, and imprison the Pope, and leave an example to be followed by the Italian Republicans of modern days. But where only the interests of others were involved, and especially where confiscation of property, the security of which had been promised, might pour wealth into his own coffers ; then his conscience was placed under ecclesiastical direction ; and treaties, to which Spanish honour and Christian faith had been pledged, were given to the winds, because contrary to the higher duties of Ferdinand the Catholic ! “ The Prophets prophesy falsely, the Priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so. And what will ye do in the end thereof ? ” And was not occasion thus given to the enemies of Christianity to blaspheme ? The degradation of the Spanish monarchy from its palmy estate, began from the moment that that monarchy had attained its loftiest elevation. The people entered the career which soon issued in civil bond-

age and national wretchedness and imbecility, from the day that they agreed to wear the fetters of Rome as their choicest and most honourable ornaments. Not even yet has the unhappy country been able to train up a race of Christian deliverers. Their modern reformers are chiefly the disciples of the infidel philosophy of Voltaire.

On the 4th of December, A.D. 1489, Ferdinand and Isabella took possession of Baza. Their courtesies so won upon its bold defender, Cidi Yahye, that he undertook to visit his kinsman, and urge his submission. El Zagal listened to him in Mohammedan fashion,—that is, under the full influence of Mohammedan belief in absolute predestination,—his countenance never changed; and, after deep meditation, he replied, “What Allah wills, he brings to pass in his own way. Had he not decreed the fall of Granada, this good sword might have saved it: but his will be done!” It was agreed that Almeria, Guadix, and their dependencies, constituting the domain of El Zagal, should be immediately surrendered to the Sovereigns, who were forthwith to proceed, at the head of their army, to take possession of them.

No time was lost in doing this. Ferdinand and Isabella left Baza on the 7th of December, and proceeded to Almeria, on the coast, fifty miles distant, S.S.E. Arrived near the city, they were met by El Zagal, whom they received

most courteously,—Ferdinand had his smiles at command,—and rode with him to Almeria, one of the most precious jewels in the diadem of Granada. After allowing the troops a few days for repose, they set out for Guadix, distant sixty miles N.W., of which, also, they took possession. This surrender was followed by that of the other places; and the conquest of both western and eastern Granada was now complete. As an equivalent for these valuable cessions, El Zagal had a small district assigned to him, with a considerable revenue in money, and the title of King of Andaraz. He was to render homage for his estates to the Spanish crown.

With all the submission of El Zagal, he pined away amid the scenes of his former empire. His vassals, too, were dissatisfied and restless. He therefore resolved to relinquish his subordinate principality, and withdraw from his native land. He received a large sum of money as an indemnification for the territory which had been assigned to him, and passed over to Africa. It is reported that he was there plundered of his property by the barbarian tribes, and had to starve out the remainder of his days in wretchedness and poverty.

The Spanish Sovereigns, having accomplished the objects of this long campaign, now returned to Jaen, where, January 4th, A.D. 1490, they disbanded their forces. This had been the most

expensive effort made by Spain during the whole war. The loss sustained by the troops had been likewise great, amounting to not fewer than twenty thousand men, the larger proportion of whom had fallen victims to severe and long-continued hardships and exposure. Had the Moors been united, the fall of their empire must have been long delayed. They were conquered in detail; and the conquest required the most strenuous efforts of Spain. With their great wealth, and their numerous population,—almost every man, too, being a soldier,—and all at the disposal of their Monarch, had there been but one, and he possessed of energies suitable to the crisis, the country could not have been subdued till Spain had been in a condition to make exertions far beyond those which could have been made at the time when the last monument of Moorish invasion and empire was won. But Providence works by human instrumentality. Defective as was the social system of Spain, elements of power were included in it derived from Christian truth, which gave the Spaniards a decided superiority over their opponents. The vices of the Moorish system had been only partly neutralized by the intercourse between Granada and Spain. The causes of their advancement as a people had been only temporary, and having carried it up to a certain limit, after a short period,—as of high water,—the tidal wave began to

ebb ; and Mohammedanism supplied no power for a returning flood. During the later period of their existence, they appear to have reposed in a state of luxurious and torpid indulgence. External excitement no longer operated ; principles of perpetual development and expansion their system contained not ; and its inherent vices came into unchecked play, and incapacitated them for the further production of excellence. Society cannot advance, except so far as it embodies the principles of personal improvement. Mohammedan greatness never proceeded from moral excellence ; and, when the martial enthusiasm which led its votaries to conquest and dominion was finally checked, it gradually died away altogether, and society was left stagnant, except so far as its members were moved by their natural wants and wishes. Such is now the universal condition of Mohammedanism. Christianity is the only system which is so perfectly adapted to the real condition of man, as to furnish a never-failing impulse, together with the light which guides the resulting activity in a proper direction.

**SECTION VII.—THE SURRENDER OF THE
CAPITAL, AND THE FINAL SUBJUGATION
OF THE KINGDOM.**

WHEN the Monarch who reigned in the capital was a captive, in A.D. 1483, in addition to

the terms imposed on him as the condition of his return to his own dominion, there was one the consequences of which he could not foresee. He agreed to surrender his capital, in exchange for Guadix,—then in the hands of his rival,—*provided the latter should be conquered in six months.* The “six months” had long elapsed; but Ferdinand chose to explain the agreement in its largest sense. As soon as the preceding campaign had been brought to a close, he sent an embassy to Boabdil, to inform him that the time to yield up his capital was come. No mention was made of the six months, nor of the fact that Granada was to be given in *exchange* for Guadix. The time had arrived when Ferdinand believed that he should be able to enforce his demand; and therefore Granada was to be surrendered absolutely. Boabdil excused himself for not obeying the summons, by alleging that he was no longer his own master; for that, although he had the inclination to keep his engagements, he was prevented by the inhabitants, now become, by removals from other places, more numerous than ever, who resolutely insisted on its defence. Ferdinand, therefore, had to prepare for the renewal of hostilities. He marched, in the spring of A.D. 1490, into the cultivated plain of Granada, sweeping away cattle and crops, and rolling the tide of devastation to the very walls of the capital. The Moors,

now that resistance had become hopeless, seemed to revive into activity. But this only aroused the Monarchs to the vigorous and final effort. In the following autumn the ravages in the Vega were renewed. Ferdinand also marched with a powerful force to Guadix, where a revolt had taken place. He was strong enough for clemency. He said that the conspiracy should be investigated, and summary justice inflicted where it was found due: at the same time, he offered permission to all who did not wish to have their conduct examined, to depart whither they would, taking with them all their personal effects. Most of the inhabitants, conscious that they had either taken part in the recent movement, or been privy to it, preferred exile to the doom of their judge. Guadix thus became, so far as inhabitation by Spaniards could make it so, a Christian city. A similar policy, productive of similar results, was pursued in reference to Baza, Almeria, and some other places. The design of Ferdinand and his counsellors began to be disclosed. Not merely the subjugation of the Moors was contemplated, but their expulsion from Spain.

Somewhat singularly, in the midst of these proceedings, an instance occurred of the resolution with which even Isabella could oppose ecclesiastical encroachments on her own power, however submissive to the Clergy she might be in

matters relating to others. The church-courts of Romanism are all as subordinate, in their several grades, to the Holy See, as are the courts of law in England to the British Crown; or—to refer to the ecclesiastical discipline of a differently constituted Church, yet possessing a gradation of courts—as are Presbyteries to Synods, and Synods to the General Assembly, in the Church of Scotland. The Chancery of Valladolid having appealed to the Pope in a case coming within its jurisdiction, the Queen caused the President, (who was the Bishop of Leon,) with other officers, to be removed, and appointed a new Board, with the Bishop of Oviedo at its head.

The winter of A.D. 1490 was occupied with preparations for the closing campaign against Granada. Ferdinand, in April, A.D. 1491, took the command of an army computed to amount to eighty thousand, for the purpose of sitting down before the capital, not to leave it till it had been surrendered to him. On the 26th of that month the army encamped in the Vega, about six miles from the city. He first of all detached a strong force for the purpose of sweeping away all the produce from the fruitful regions of the Alpuxarras, which served as the granary of the capital. The service was performed with unsparing rigour. No fewer than twenty-four towns and hamlets were ransacked, and razed to the ground. He returned, loaded with spoil, to his

position on the banks of the Genil, in full view of the metropolis, "which seemed to stand alone, like some sturdy oak, the last of the forest, bidding defiance to the storm which had prostrated all its brethren."

But though it thus stood alone, no longer possessing any allies, and despoiled of all other external resources, Granada was still formidable. Its position was most advantageous for defence, its fortifications were strong, and its defenders numerous. On the east it was fenced in by a wild mountain-barrier, the Sierra Nevada, with its snow-clad summits; on the side towards the Vega, facing the Christian encampment, were walls and towers of massive solidity and strength; and within their enclosure, besides the citizens, greatly increased in numbers by those who had sought refuge there, were twenty thousand of the very flower of the Moslem chivalry, who had escaped the edge of the Spanish sword.

The inhabitants were roused to indignation by the sight of their relentless foe thus encamped as it were under the shadow of their battlements. They sallied forth in small bodies, or singly, challenging the Spaniards to equal encounter. Numerous were the combats that took place between the cavaliers on both sides, who met on the level arena as on a tilting-ground, displaying their prowess in the presence of the assembled chivalry and beauty of their respective nations :

for, as usual, Isabella had visited the Spanish camp, with the Infantas, and the courtly train of ladies who had accompanied their royal mistress from Alcala la Real. The Queen was attentive to the various military preparations, and inspected every part of the encampment. She was accustomed to appear in the field, on these occasions, superbly mounted, and arrayed in complete armour.

About the middle of July an accident occurred in the camp, which might have been the occasion of serious mischief; and was, in point of fact, productive of memorable results. The Queen was lodged in a superb pavilion; and one night, through the carelessness of one of her attendants, a lamp was placed in such a situation, that a gust of wind blew towards it some loose drapery; and this catching fire, the pavilion was soon in a blaze. The fire spread rapidly to the neighbouring tents, and the whole encampment was threatened with conflagration. This took place in the dead of night, when all but the sentinels were asleep. The Queen and her children were in great peril, but escaped without injury. The alarm spread. The trumpets sounded to arms; for it was supposed to be a night-attack of the enemy. Even when this was found not to be the case, a strong body of horse was posted towards the city, to be ready to repel any assault, if the Moors should avail themselves

of the opportunity presented by the confusion. The fire was extinguished with only the loss of much valuable property, and the night was not otherwise disturbed.

An unforeseen, but permanent, result grew out of this circumstance. The necessity of guarding against the recurrence of such a disaster was at once felt. And, as one thought leads to another, the importance was soon perceived of providing comfortable winter-quarters for the army, should the siege be protracted beyond the usual limits. The idea of the erection of a city was thus suggested. Ferdinand knew his power, and felt that he had no need to hurry proceedings; nay, that movements involving perpetuity might declare to the besieged the indomitable resolution of the besiegers, and their settled confidence in reference to ultimate success. Military operations of a rapid and excursive character were carried on as usual; but Ferdinand felt that there was no call for urging his troops to measures more rapid and decisive. It was resolved to build a town on the site of the present encampment, and to devote to this object the chief energy of the army. The plan was immediately put in execution. The work was distributed in due proportions among the troops of the several cities, and of the great nobility: the soldier suddenly became an artisan; and the camp, formed for the purposes of war, echoed to.

the sounds of peaceful labour. Stupendous as was the task, such was the number of persons employed, and the assiduous perseverance with which they laboured, that it was accomplished in less than three months. Besides dwelling-houses, stables were provided for a thousand horses. The town was built in a triangular form, traversed by two spacious avenues, intersecting each other in the centre at right angles, with stately porticoes at each of the four extremities; and at each of these four, an inscription on a block of marble recorded the respective shares of the classes employed in the work. When it was completed, the whole army was desirous that it should bear the name of the Queen; but Isabella declined, and bestowed on it the name of Santa Fé. With this name it still stands, as it was erected in A.D. 1491. A Castilian writer pronounces an eulogium on it, that manifests the true source of Spanish degradation. He describes it as "the only city in Spain never contaminated by the Moslem heresy." This devotion to the Church of Rome led the Spaniards to glory in the Inquisition, and to witness each successive *auto da fé* with unnatural exultation, as proving the care taken for the eradication of heresy. This led them to overlook the numerous moral obliquities of their King, and to signalize him by the epithet which denoted what evidently was considered by them as denoting the highest quality he could possess.

He might be treacherous, unfeeling, barbarous ; he might lay the axe at the root of their ancient liberties, and prepare the way for his successors to become "absolute Kings:" but he gave to Rome despotic power over his subjects in all that interfered not with his own sovereignty ; and therefore he was Ferdinand the Catholic !

The erection of Santa Fé extinguished the hopes of the Moors. They saw in it the resolution of the Spaniards never to resign the hold on their soil which they had already won. A rigorous blockade effectually excluded all supplies from the country, and communication with Africa was impossible. The people had begun to feel the pressure of famine, and symptoms of insubordination were evident. Boabdil and his principal counsellors saw that the place could no longer be maintained against their resolute and persevering foe ; and, in the month of October, overtures to the Sovereigns were privately made for its surrender. The negotiations had to be conducted with the utmost secrecy, as the populace still dreamed of the possibility of succour from Africa. The terms of the capitulation were soon fixed, and on the 25th of November ratified by the respective Sovereigns. The conditions were similar to those granted to Baza, though somewhat more liberal. The inhabitants were to retain possession of their mosques, and to have the full and free and open enjoyment of

their religion. They were to be judged by their own Magistrates, according to their own laws. In fact, only the paramount Sovereign was changed. Boabdil was to reign over a specified territory in the Alpuxarras, doing homage for it to the crown of Spain. The fortifications and artillery were to be delivered immediately, and the city was to be surrendered in sixty days from the date of the capitulation. It was soon seen, however, that this delay would be dangerous. When the fact of the capitulation became known, an insurrection broke out; and the personal safety of the Monarch was in peril. It was thought best, therefore, that the day of surrender should be anticipated; and January 2d, 1492, was fixed on for that purpose.

Every preparation was made to connect with this event all suitable pomp. On the morning of the appointed day, the whole camp exhibited a scene of both activity and splendour. The court of the Sovereigns was richly arrayed, and the troops were full armed, but no longer for the purpose of conflict; all was calculated for military show. A large detachment was sent forwards to occupy the Alhambra, previous to the entrance of the Sovereigns. Ferdinand waited on the banks of the Genil the signal of the occupation of the city. As the detachment, which was headed by the Grand Cardinal Mendoza, moved up the hill towards the gate by which he

was to enter, he was met by Boabdil, attended by fifty cavaliers. The vanquished Monarch passed on till he arrived at the position occupied by his rival and conqueror. He would have dismounted, and kissed Ferdinand's hand in token of homage, but was courteously prevented. He then presented the keys of the Alhambra. The depth and reality of his grief allowed no formal speech; but he calmly and mournfully said, as he presented them, "They are thine, O King, since Allah so decrees it. **USE THY SUCCESS WITH CLEMENCY AND MODERATION.**" Ferdinand would have uttered a few words of consolation to him; but he moved onwards, with a dejected air, to the place occupied by Isabella; and, after similar acts of obeisance, passed on to join his family who had preceded him on the route to the Alpuxarras. It might have been supposed that this mournful scene, and the few words spoken by a Prince thus "fallen from his high estate," would never have passed away from the recollection of either Ferdinand or Isabella. How they were recollected, the sequel will show.

Scarcely had Boabdil departed, when the signal for which all were now anxiously waiting was given. The large silver cross, borne before Ferdinand throughout the crusade, was seen, sparkling in the sunbeams, elevated on a lofty tower, visible to all the spectators. The eleva-

tion of the cross was immediately followed by that of the royal standard, which waved in the breeze, as if triumphantly, over the Alhambra. At this glorious spectacle, the choir of the royal chapel, stationed near Ferdinand for the purpose, broke forth in the solemn anthem of *Te Deum*; the Sovereigns, nobles, and the whole army fell on their knees, and thanksgivings were returned for this consummation of the long-cherished wishes and hopes of all Spain. The Grandees did homage to the King and Queen, as now reigning over the entire land; and, amidst the triumphant clangour of military music, the procession moved towards the conquered city; and Ferdinand and Isabella, soon entering into the royal palace of the Alhambra, were seated, surrounded by their rejoicing court, on the throne no longer occupied by the Moors.

It was indeed a proud day for Spain. The spectators of the scene might well be pardoned for their exultation. Happy had it been for all parties, if the fact that all Spain was now reduced under the empire of the Cross, had been properly understood. To their other subjects many thousands were now added, who professed the Mohammedan belief. To these protection had been promised, and liberty for the full and unmolested exercise of their religion. What a glorious opportunity was afforded for the genuine triumphs of Christianity! Moorish sovereignty

was despotism, often wantonly and even cruelly exercised. The land, too, had been desolated by long and wasting wars. Deep wounds had been inflicted on society. Christian humanity was called to heal them. Social disorder reigned throughout. Industry had been compelled to cease from its productive efforts. It was the part of Christian wisdom to show these erring ones the effect of a purer, holier faith, combining freedom with order, and preparing them for acknowledging the truth of Christianity by the full participation in the benefits of its influence. Dwelling at peace among their Christian neighbours, treated by them with the forbearance prompted by Christian charity, feeling that, if what were judged to be their errors were condemned, themselves were pitied, their darkness must inevitably have been dispersed by the unclouded light shining around them. The evident superiority of Christian character would have awakened a suspicion of the soundness of their own principles, and created a desire for instruction. And Christianity dreads not the results of instruction and investigation. And who can tell what an influence might have been exerted by such a state of things on the remoter portions of the Mohammedan world? Converts won by truth and kindness would have been Missionaries of almost apostolic power. Never had a country so favourable an opportunity for the

spread of Christianity, as was afforded to Spain in that age. Not only might the Moors have been led to acknowledge the only-begotten Son ; not only might multitudes of Jews have been led to the reception of the true Messiah ; but multitudes of benighted Heathens and idolaters, dwelling in the islands of the West, in Mexico, and in Peru, might have been enlightened by the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus.

These opportunities were all lost, not by an unreligious carelessness, but by the bigotry engendered by the falsehoods which had obscured the splendour and neutralized the power of divinely-revealed truth. The weapons provided for Christian warfare were abandoned, and those taken up suggested by a false and carnal policy. No nation can be great, since the period that the incarnate Saviour assumed the mediatorial throne of universal sovereignty, unless it has the present kingdom of God, and produces the fruits of its presence. Very significant was the language of Christ to the Jews : "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, AND GIVEN TO A NATION BRINGING FORTH THE FRUITS THEREOF." Spain might have possessed it, but she chose the dominion of Rome. It was taken from her, and with it departed the unfigurative palladium of her freedom ; and as no nation can be prosperous and powerful that is not free, the sources of

her prosperity and power were rapidly dried up. And what is she now?

While all was joy and gladness in the Spanish camp, and among the new occupants of the Alhambra, the neighbouring Sierra became the scene of a mournful spectacle. While the Spanish Sovereigns were proceeding to the city in splendour and exultation, Boabdil, with a small and dejected retinue, was slowly travelling with his family towards what was, in reality, the place of his exile. He at length reached a rocky eminence, which commanded, for those journeying in the direction he was taking, the last view of Granada. He turned, and gazed on the scenes of his former greatness. The sight was too much even for Mohammedan stoicism. The feelings of the man were triumphant, and he wept bitterly. The place is still known by the poetical title, *El ultimo Sospiro del Moro*, "The last Sigh of the Moor." The portal through which he issued when finally departing from the city was, at his request, walled up, that no others might again pass through. In this state it continues to the present day, a memorial of the fall of the last of the Kings of Granada. The remainder of his history may be written in few words. In the following year he exchanged his small and nominal sovereignty for a considerable sum of money, and passed over with his family to Fez. He there, soon after, lost his

life in battle, in the service of an African Prince.

We have now conducted the reader from the commencement to the close of the Moorish dominion in Spain. Glad should we be if here we might close our history. But even to the *conquest* of Granada there is a sequel, expressed in the concluding part of the title of our narrative,—“The *Expulsion* of the Moors from Spain.” The melancholy tale may soon be told, and then our task is done.

SECTION VIII.—THE FINAL EXPULSION OF THE MOORS.

It will be recollected that one of the terms granted to the Moors, in surrendering their towns, &c., was, that they should enjoy full and unmolested freedom for the public exercise of their religion, as well as security of person and property, under the rule of their own laws, as administered by their own Magistrates,—in submission, of course, to the supreme sovereignty of the Spanish crown. These various stipulations were made for a valuable consideration. The Moors, though defeated, and unable any longer to maintain their cause with the slightest prospect of success, were both strongly intrenched and strongly armed. Despair gives men that dreadful courage which the term “desperation” is known to import. They who have nothing to

hope, have, in one sense, nothing to fear. They who find themselves in such circumstances may choose to sell their lives dear; and, though they cannot avoid ultimate destruction, may destroy many previously. The mischief that might have been done, had the Moors, in the various towns which surrendered, been thus rendered desperate, cannot be calculated. Blows might have been inflicted on the Spanish troops, which would have rendered other campaigns necessary. To raise and equip the forces actually employed, required the utmost energy of the Spanish crown; and long would the finances of the kingdom have been crippled, had it not been for the aid afforded by the riches which their conquests obtained. If more armies must have been raised, still heavier expenses incurred, and if the property of the vanquished had been in great part destroyed, the effects to Spain would have been most disastrous. From all this, the various capitulations saved the Sovereigns. What they accorded was in return for what they received. Even had not this been the case, their faith was publicly pledged for the due performance of the stipulations to which they and the Moors had solemnly agreed. The Moors had faithfully performed their part. How did Ferdinand perform his?

But, first of all, let the treatment which the Jews received be mentioned. It belongs to the history of the period, and may be properly taken

as an episode to this portion of it, as illustrating the principles which prevailed, and which so soon led to the final expulsion of the Moors.

At this time the Jews in Spain were numerous, industrious, and wealthy. The wars against the Mohammedans had created a high degree of religious excitement, and kindled a strong feeling against the descendants of Abraham. The Clergy had imbibed the doctrines of the Inquisition; and the populace, similarly indoctrinated, readily believed the revived fables of former ages respecting the cruel practices of the Jews secretly wrought against the Christians. Children were said, for instance, to be kidnapped, and then cruelly crucified in derision of the Saviour. Christian patients were likewise said to be frequently poisoned by their Jewish Physicians. Strenuous attempts to convert them had been made: no wonder that attempts made by such men as the Inquisitors should be without success. Resistance mortified the Clergy, as amounting to a declaration of their incompetency to maintain their own faith; and they not only willingly increased the popular odium, but represented to the Sovereigns that such sinful obstinacy proved that more stringent methods of subduing it had become necessary. The common people envied them the great wealth they possessed; the Inquisitors looked on it with a view to forfeitures and confiscation. Such of the higher Clergy as

had access to the Sovereigns boldly asserted, that the only way to extirpate this heresy was to eradicate the seed : they therefore demanded the immediate and total banishment of the unbaptized Jews from the land. The unhappy race heard that persecuting measures were proposed, and, in hope of averting the storm, commissioned one of their body to offer a donation of thirty thousand ducats towards the expenses of the Moorish war. Torquemada, the iron-hearted Inquisitor-General, whose whole soul was burning with the bigotry of his party, became aware of this proceeding. He burst into the room where the Sovereigns were giving audience to the Jewish deputy, took a cross from under his mantle, and exclaimed, "Judas Iscariot sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver ; your Highnesses would sell him for thirty thousand : here he is ; take him, and barter him away !" So saying, he insolently threw the cross on the table, and left the room. The King and Queen were overawed, and the negotiation was broken off. This man had been the Queen's Confessor in her youth, and thus possessed a powerful influence on her mind. The issue was, that one of the first public acts in their newly-acquired city was, an edict pronouncing the doom of banishment on the Jews. This was signed at Granada, March 30th, A.D. 1492. The Jews were to leave the realm by the end of July, and

not to revisit it under pain of death. They were permitted to sell their effects, and to carry the produce with them in bills of exchange, or merchandise not prohibited, but neither gold nor silver; and after the expiration of the limited period, no person was to harbour, or in any manner succour, them. They were thus to be exiled from their homes, most of them from the land of their birth, where they and their fathers had so long enjoyed the comforts of opulence and of elegant refinement. The time allowed for the sale of their property was short; and as so many sales would necessarily be simultaneous, depreciation of value in the articles to be sold would be enormous. They had only enemies for purchasers: they were compelled to dispose of almost every thing they possessed; and malice and cupidity would thus have their full play. They were not allowed to carry away gold and silver as the produce of these forced sales; and commerce was not sufficiently extended to allow of a number of bills of exchange adequate to the sums which they wished to take with them. Here again was another occasion of loss. The demand for bills being so much beyond any possible supply, the usual laws of exchange would cause them to be negotiated at a very high premium. And what was their crime? Terrible was the punishment. Was it at all deserved at the hands of those by whom it was inflicted? Atrocious calumnies had

indeed been circulated by an ignorant and a low-minded bigotry; but against them as members of the community no well-founded charges could be made. Among them, no doubt, individual offenders against the laws might be found; but such offenders might be found among the Christians also. Nothing could be alleged against them as a community but their adherence to the faith of their fathers. By every Christian that faith will be considered to be erroneous. He will pity the holders of it. All proper methods—methods consistent with the letter and spirit of the New Testament—to bring them to the acknowledgment of the truth, he will gladly embrace. But he will remember that the Christian's Lord and Master has given no authority to reclaim by violence even the most erring. Many of the most explicit commands of the New Testament, and the entire spirit of Christianity, directly oppose all persecution for conscience' sake, even where the conscience is mistaken. The Samaritans were in error; but when the zealous disciple desired their destruction by fire from heaven, he not only received a decisive rebuke from our Lord, but was called to listen to that memorable declaration which, it might have been thought, would effectually preclude the very possibility of persecution by the followers of Christ: "The Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Utterly unmindful of

this, the Spanish Clergy, blinded by their zeal, ignorant of human nature, and, it is to be feared, judging of others by themselves, and fancying that all religious scruples would yield when the total loss of property was threatened, redoubled their exertions for the conversion of the Jews. The pulpits thundered forth denunciations of their errors: so that popular odium being excited to the highest pitch, the very existence of pity for these victims of an infuriate bigotry (most falsely representing itself as Christian zeal) was altogether prevented.

At the appointed time, the fugitives commenced their melancholy journeyings. They were distributed along various routes, according to the selected destinations. The principal roads through the country swarmed with emigrants. The old and the young, the sick and the helpless, men, women, and children, promiscuously huddled together. Some were mounted on horses or mules, but the greater part were on foot. The largest division, amounting to eighty thousand, crossed the frontiers of Portugal, many of them in deep poverty. The King of Portugal allowed them a passage through his dominions on their way to Africa, charging each person a moderate sum for the permission.

A considerable number embarked for Africa at Cadiz, and were joined by others of their fellow-sufferers soon after their arrival. On their

journey to a city on the coast inhabited by many Jews, they were attacked by the roving tribes of the desert in search of plunder. Notwithstanding the interdict, many had secreted money and jewels in their garments, and even in their saddles. Their spoilers stripped them naked, that they might examine their clothes more closely. Some, suspecting that their victims might have swallowed some precious articles, put them to death and cut them open. To other, and yet worse, cruelties the wretched pilgrims were subjected by these savage barbarians. Those who escaped, robbed, beaten, many of them destitute of garments, were soon reduced to such extremities by famine, that they were glad to satisfy in part the demands of hunger by the scanty herbage found in the desert, so that, gradually losing their strength, numbers perished by the way, and only few arrived at the place of their destination.

Many of the emigrants removed to Italy. They went thither by sea. They were confined during a lengthened voyage in small vessels, ill-provided, and over-crowded. The usual consequences ensued. An infectious disorder broke out among them ; and, as when they landed they spread themselves in various directions, disease and death seemed to follow on their path. What the whole Italian peninsula suffered,—the original source of the evil system which had thus exiled

them,—may be inferred from the fact, that in the city of Naples alone, more than twenty thousand persons were swept off by this plague in the course of the year. A contemporary historian, (a Genoese,) an eye-witness of the scenes he describes, says, “No one could behold, unmoved, the sufferings of the Jewish exiles. Many perished of hunger, especially those of tender years. Mothers, with scarcely strength to support themselves, carried their famishing infants in their arms, and died with them. Many fell victims to the cold, others to intense thirst; while the unaccustomed distresses incident to a sea-voyage, aggravated their maladies. They suffered greatly from the avarice and cruelty of the masters of the vessels which transported them from Spain. Murders were committed for the sake of spoil. Some Jews had been obliged to sell their children to procure money for the voyage. They arrived at Genoa in crowds, but were not suffered to tarry there long, by reason of the ancient law which interdicted the Jewish traveller from a longer residence than three days. They were allowed, however, to recruit themselves for a few days, and to refit their vessels. One might have taken them for spectres, so emaciated were they, so cadaverous, and with eyes so sunken. They seemed to differ from the dead in nothing save in the power of motion, which yet they scarcely retained. Many fainted and

expired on the mole, which, as being so nearly surrounded by the sea, was the only quarter vouchsafed to them. The infection bred by such a swarm of dead and dying persons was not at once perceived ; but when the winter broke up, ulcers began to make their appearance, and the malady, which lurked for a long time in the city, broke out into the plague in the following year."

Various computations have been made as to the number of persons thus expelled from Spain. The highest result is, eight hundred thousand ; the lowest, a hundred and sixty thousand. Probably, a slight advance on the lowest computation would most nearly approach the truth, and two hundred thousand persons be taken as no exaggeration. Of those who were thus expatriated, a large portion—perhaps not less than one half, probably more—found no other home on earth. Their banishment from Spain, and the fearful sufferings occasioned by it, expedited their journey to "the grave, the house appointed for all living."

In estimating the damage done to the country by a measure which was as injudicious as it was barbarous, mere numbers, however, will not furnish a sufficient basis. It is to so large a subtraction of intelligence, of mechanical skill, of the general resources of an orderly and industrious population, that attention must be paid. In

this view, the mischief was incalculably greater than that which would have to be inferred only from numerical considerations. That mischief was immense, and has never been surmounted. This is Mr. Prescott's judgment. He says, "Although even this amount of mischief might have been gradually repaired in a country allowed the free and healthful development of its energies, yet in Spain this was so effectually counteracted by the Inquisition and other causes, that the loss may be deemed irretrievable."

This history of the banishment of the Jews is to be considered only as an episode in relation to our narrative of the final expulsion of the Moors. It is, however, an episode intimately connected with the main action of the Moorish epic. The banishment of the Jews was the forerunner of the expulsion of the Moors, not only in point of time, but in reference to principle also. Both events proceeded from the same source. Superstition, intolerance, avarice, cupidity, all were combined in those who were able either to stimulate the progress of events, or to govern their direction. A dark and savage bigotry was mistaken for that Christian zeal which is at once enlightened and compassionate. Its utmost fervour is the pure flame of divine, heaven-kindled love; whereas, of that which is too often identified with it,—though no two things can be more widely apart, more obviously

both distinct and opposed,—truth demands that the awful language of inspiration be employed, that its origin may be known, its influence dreaded, itself most studiously avoided,—“IT IS SET ON FIRE OF HELL.” (James iii. 6.)

The story of the expulsion of the Moors, like that of the banishment of the Jews, is one of atrocious cruelty and of blind impolicy; but it bears upon it, indelibly stamped in, the additional characters of treachery and falsehood. It will be recollected, that those Moors who continued in Spain, in their own homes, only transferring their allegiance to the Spanish Sovereigns, did so on the royal faith, most solemnly pledged to them in treaties as explicit as language could make them, that this transfer of allegiance should be the only alteration which they should be called to experience. How awfully they were deceived, they soon began to discover. Some little time elapsed before order was fully established under this new state of things; but when all things appeared to be settled on the recently laid foundations, the Clergy became earnestly desirous of obtaining proselytes. No one can blame them for this, providing the right methods of accomplishing their wishes had been pursued, and due forbearance exercised. Undoubtedly, the Moorish faith was erroneous; dangerous to individuals, and altogether unfavourable to social stability and progress. But

the opinions of the Moors had not been embraced for the first time by themselves. They had come down to them from remote ancestry through many centuries and generations, and had become part of that intellectual and moral nature in which they had from their infancy been trained. Still time and truth, enforced by Christian example, and the evident manifestations of Christian feeling, might have done much. A glorious career of usefulness lay before the Ministers of Christianity. Within their reach was a whole nation of wanderers to be reclaimed to the true fold. And who can tell what the result might have been, had these Christian labours been successful, on the more distant parts of the Mohammedan world? But no Christian feeling was brought to the work. No allowance was made for the strength of their long-existing, deeply-rooted prejudices. The Clergy seem to have expected that the Moors could change their opinions at the word of command. They looked for the triumph of a victory as easy as they desired it to be rapid. Like Cæsar, they seemed to have wished to describe their polemic prowess, by saying, "We came, we saw, we conquered." At first, indeed, arguments were used; but they were arguments rather expressing what satisfied their own convictions, than calculated to change the convictions of others. It is evident that vanity, as well as bigotry, prompted them. No

melting pity for the erring moved them. As the Spanish Knight fought for victory and glory in the tournament, so were the Spanish Clergy moved by the lust of mastery in combats on another arena. When their expectations were disappointed, they attributed to a criminal obstinacy the backwardness of the Moors to yield to their arguments ; and their own want of success was felt to be as disgraceful to themselves as defeat was to the members of the warrior chivalry. Murmurs soon began to be heard among them. It was like ingratitude to God, they said, to allow these unbelievers to possess such a goodly portion of the heritage of Christians : they ought to submit to baptism, or be removed from the land. But the Sovereigns felt unwilling to recede from their royal word, so unequivocally pledged. They still wished conciliation to be tried to the utmost ; and as low down as the year 1499, proofs are to be found of this. Happy had it been for their own character in succeeding ages, happy for Spain, happy, we cannot doubt, for the Moors themselves, had they continued faithful to these feelings. Wretched is the condition of all those, whether Sovereigns or subjects, who surrender to others—especially to a bigoted and narrow-minded priesthood, with whom the scaffold and the stake are legitimate arguments—the keeping of their conscience. This is the parent crime of Ferdinand and Isa-

bella, and fruitful was it in a whole progeny of sins and woes. Personal responsibility is not to be transferred. God puts a man's conscience into his own keeping, and every man must give account of himself unto God. He who is too indolent to search out the path for himself, if he even walks in a right one, walks not from a right principle, offers not an acceptable obedience. If it be in a wrong one, then are there two guilty persons : the erring director, and the erring follower. The entire fabric of Popery would fall to the ground were that which is its main prop removed ; did men feel that one part of the obedience they owe to God is the right government of their own conscience, and that the transfer of this government to another is itself a sin ; so that, as sin can never be pleaded as an excuse for sin, he who at the direction of another does that which is wrong, must bear the full guilt of his wrongdoing.

Among those who were in favour of the employment of more active—that is, in point of fact, of coercive—measures was Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, justly celebrated as a learned man, and as a patron and encourager of learning. To him is sacred literature indebted for that great work, the Complutensian Polyglot, the Greek New Testament of which was the first complete edition that was ever issued from the press. Ximenes is one instance, among many, that secu-

lar learning, by itself, has no necessary connexion with views truly liberal and enlarged. Marcus Antoninus was a philosopher, devoted to letters : he was also an implacable persecutor of the Christians. *True enlargement of heart* is produced by nothing but that *true faith* in Christ which works by that *true charity* to which it gives existence, unfailingly, and exclusively.

But before we notice the movements in Granada, of which Ximenes was the author, the state of affairs in the interval between the conquest, and his more energetic interference, must be considered. The newly-created archbishopric of Granada was filled by a person of humble extraction, Fernando de Talavera, who, after having been for twenty years Prior of a monastery, was appointed Confessor to Isabella, and afterwards to Ferdinand. He was a man distinguished by his learning, unblemished piety, benevolent disposition, and amiable manners. He was somewhat tainted with bigotry ; but this was the fault of the age, and in him was restrained by the kindness of his temper. He desired the conversion of the Moors, but sought to effect his object by means truly Christian. Late in life, he set about learning Arabic, and commanded his Clergy to do the same, that he and they might communicate with his erring fellow-creatures in their own language. He procured the translation into Arabic of selections from the Gospels

and proposed ultimately to pursue the same method with the entire Scriptures. He won the esteem and affection of the Moors, and with many his plans were successful. But, as was to be expected, the progress of conversion among a people whose opinions were deeply rooted, and held as sacred by them as the truths of Christianity were by the others, was slow, and insufficient to satisfy the more ardent among the Clergy. They required that those who would not submit to baptism should be banished from the kingdom. Even by compulsory conversion the Moors would be gainers, while by the removal of the obstinate the tranquillity of the kingdom would be secured: that is, the Moors were to be condemned for disturbances which their opponents had occasioned; a policy which the successors of these zealots have pursued down to our times. Ximenes joined them; and when, at the close of 1499, the Sovereigns, after a visit to Granada, had left the place, enjoining that the same kindly methods might still be pursued, he commenced his own plan of operations. He had recourse to what was in fact bribery, bestowing costly gifts on the Mohammedan teachers, less valuable ones on the lower orders, and had soon such a multitude of candidates for baptism, that the ordinary manner of administering the rite was insufficient, and *aspersion* had to be employed. Large bunches

of hyssop being dipped in water, the drops were scattered over the crowds as they stood. In one day upwards of four thousand persons were thus baptized. The zeal of the Archbishop was now so fully excited, that he could no longer bear opposition. A noble and learned Moor, named Zegri, having withstood all the arguments with which he was assailed, was given into custody, and the jailer was commanded to pursue such methods as might effectually convince his prisoner. Fasting and fetters subdued the man, and he submitted. Terror was thus added to the other incentives, and the work of outward proselytism (for more than outward it could not be) went on rapidly. Ximenes then advanced another step. He caused all the Arabic manuscripts that could be procured, copies of the Koran, and works of religion and literature, to be publicly burned; offering one of the greatest insults to the whole community that was possible. Strong feelings of resentment were excited; and a trivial circumstance caused a local disturbance, and soon a general insurrection through the city. Ximenes hastened to Seville, and gave to the Sovereigns his own version of the case. They sent down commissioners, therefore, to investigate it, for the purpose of discovering and punishing the guilty, unless they would make their peace by embracing Christianity. In profession numbers did so; and among

their descendants the Inquisition, in subsequent years, found numerous victims.

These evident infractions of the treaties that had been granted to the Moors soon occasioned disturbances in other parts. Before long there was a general rising in the wild regions of the Alpuxarras. A civil war had, in fact, commenced. Spanish troops were sent to quell the insurrection; but as the Moors were exasperated and desperate, hostilities on both sides were carried on with unmitigated ferocity. Now and then, the Moors were encouraged by solitary instances of success. In February, A.D. 1500, Ferdinand took the field in person. Fortress after fortress was taken. The unsuccessful defenders were put to the sword, and all the other inhabitants, men, women, and children, were sold into slavery. In one place thus captured, the women and children had fled to a mosque, and the Spanish commander ordered it to be blown up, so that they all perished. The campaign was, at its close, completely successful. But when the quiet of desolation was established in the Alpuxarras, another insurrection broke out on the western confines of Granada. So infuriate were the Moors, and so desperate in their assaults, that in March, A.D. 1501, a considerable body of Spanish troops was defeated, and nearly destroyed; and in April, Ferdinand, with ample forces, took the field to quell an insurrection which had begun to be

formidable. Against the full power of Spain the Moors had no chance of ultimate success; but their feelings were such, that the war was carried on till universal defeat rendered farther resistance impracticable. Confiscations followed to a large extent; and the usual profanation—truth demands that so it be called—of the sacred ordinance of baptism by compulsion was carried so far, that the whole province of Granada appeared to be peopled by those who, in external profession at least, were Christians. Every mosque had become a church; and the banner of the “Catholic King” floated triumphantly over sierras and valleys, cities, towns, and fortresses. Multitudes were, indeed, Moors in heart. But who had made them hypocrites? In one respect,—a sad one, it is true,—these baptisms were valid indeed. They who had received them had thus become subject to the Roman Church; and then (as now) it was the doctrine of that Church, that over all who have been baptized, she possesses unlimited jurisdiction, and may compel their obedience, or punish, even by death, their disobedience;—that is, wherever she has power: wherever the power does not exist, nothing but the *exercise* of the right ceases; the right is not destroyed, it is only in abeyance.

At length, February 12th, A.D. 1502, the treaties, which had long been disregarded, were finally, publicly, and without shame, thrown to the

winds. On that day,—a day equally memorable and unhappy for Spain,—an edict for the expulsion of the unbaptized Moors was issued at Seville. Mr. Prescott thus describes it:—"After a preamble, duly setting forth the obligations of gratitude on the Castilians to drive *God's enemies* from the land which he in his good time had delivered into their hands, and the numerous backslidings occasioned among the new converts by their intercourse with their unbaptized brethren, the act goes on to state, in much the same terms with the famous ordinance against the Jews, that all the unbaptized Moors in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, above fourteen years for the males, and twelve for the females, shall leave the country by the end of April following;"—not quite three months being thus allowed for their departure;—"that they may sell their property in the mean time, and take the proceeds in anything save gold and silver, and merchandise regularly prohibited; and finally, that they may emigrate to any foreign country except the dominions of the Great Turk, and such parts of Africa as Spain was then at war with. Obedience to these severe provisions was enforced by the penalties of death and confiscation of property."

The edict was, of course, obeyed. It was connected with too much power and will for disobedience. Thus, therefore, ended the exist-

ence of openly-professed Mohammedanism in Spain. We say, openly-professed ; for under the Christian garb many a follower of the Arabian impostor still continued in the country. To the baptismal converts the term "Moriscoes" was applied. Their subsequent history is written in fire and blood. Rigidly did Rome rule over them. The successors of Torquemada, Inquisitor-General, were her ministers. Year after year did they diligently search out any who might be convicted of unfaithfulness to Rome, whether its specific character were Jewish or Mohammedan ; and after the German Reformation, all who were suspected of Lutheranism were added to the number of those who might be deemed their lawful prey. Let the deaths occasioned by the banishment of the Jews, according to the foregoing statement, be recollected ; then let those be added which were caused by the persecuting wars against the Moors, and their final expulsion ; and, lastly, let the numbers of those who in succeeding years became the victims of the Inquisition, be taken to complete the account ; when all these calculations are made, who can fix the amount of lives destroyed for which Ferdinand and Isabella, their successors, their ministers and instruments, and the whole Spanish nation, which (with what few individual exceptions there might be in private) gloried in these dark transactions, must be held responsible ? Some faint idea may be

formed of this, by recollecting the miseries connected with the compulsory emigrations of the Jews, and then by adding the number of victims who were sacrificed by the ferocious bigotry of Torquemada. During the eighteen years in which he was Inquisitor-General, it is computed that he brought to the stake ten thousand two hundred and twenty persons ; while, under his ruthless sway, not fewer than one hundred and fourteen thousand families were irrecoverably ruined. Fain would history refuse to record such atrocities. But the unchangeable Church still refuses to disown such transactions ; still claims the right to repeat them : still, therefore, must they be recorded, although, to record them aright, the pen of a Tacitus or of a Dante is required.

The narrative to which the preceding pages have been devoted is full of instruction. It proves, in the first place, the falsehood of Mohammedanism, by its evidently anti-social character and tendencies. This system does not meet the wants of social man. It opens no career of permanent prosperity, and genuine ever-advancing civilization. Many of the vices which impede human progress it leaves unchecked ; it even fosters them, and at the same time adds others of its own. Its universal history illustrates and establishes that solemn declaration of prophecy, which so clearly marks the character of the administration of Divine Providence : " The nation

and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted." (Isai. lx. 12.)

Nor must the lessons taught by Spanish proceedings be overlooked. Some of them shall be stated by Mr. Prescott:—"Castile might now boast, the first time for eight centuries, that every outward stain, at least, of infidelity was purified from her bosom. But how had this been accomplished? By the most detestable expedients which sophistry could devise, and oppression execute; and that, too, under an enlightened government, proposing to be guided solely by a conscientious regard for duty. We inquire not here how it was that the intolerant policy of the Christians" (in Spain) "was owing to the peculiar constitution of their hierarchy,—which availed itself of the superior science and reputed sanctity that were supposed to have given it the key to the dread mysteries of a future life, not in enlightening, but in enslaving the minds of a credulous world; and which, making its own tenets the only standard of faith, its own rites and ceremonial the only evidence of virtue, obliterated the great laws of morality written by the Divine hand on every heart, and gradually built up a system of exclusiveness and intolerance most repugnant to the mild and charitable religion of Jesus Christ. From the disastrous hour that the Inquisition was introduced into Spain.

religion wore a new aspect in this unhappy country. Zeal was exalted into fanaticism, and a rational spirit of proselytism into one of fiendish persecution. It was not enough now, as formerly, passively to conform to the doctrines of the Church, but it was enjoined to make war on all who refused them. The natural feeling of compunction in the discharge of this sad duty was a crime; and the tear of sympathy, wrung out by the sight of mortal agonies, was an offence to be expiated by the heaviest penance. The most frightful maxims were deliberately engrafted into the code of morals. These were not a dead letter, but of most active operation. The character of the nation underwent a melancholy change. The milk of charity, nay, of human feeling, was soured in every bosom. The liberality of the old Spanish cavalier gave way to the fiery fanaticism of the Monk. The taste for blood, once gratified, begat a cannibal appetite in the people, who, cheered on by the frantic Clergy, seemed to vie with one another in the eagerness with which they ran down the miserable game of the Inquisition."

And what have been the consequences? Gradually, one by one, their political privileges, if possible, more decided and valuable than those of England at that period, were wrested from them; and, instructed by the Clergy, they settled down into the willing slaves of absolute despot-

ism. Commercial and agricultural industry were struck down, and have never revived into activity. The censorship, and the fear of the Inquisition, drew a circle round a literature once rich, lofty, and energetic as any in Europe, out of which it has never issued, and in which, for want of healthy exercise, it has continued to decline. Religious externalism produced an ignorant bigotry in the masses, and prepared the more educated to become, in the last century, the sceptical disciples of the French philosophy. In the movements for freedom which have distinguished our own times, Spain and her colonies proved themselves, though strong to destroy, impotent to re-edify. Passion is sufficient for the first: the wisdom which only heavenly truth teaches is necessary for the last. Spain, Portugal, Italy,—can no other instance be adduced?—all exhibit the ruinous tendencies of dominant Romanism.

APPENDIX.—GRANADA, &C., IN 1842.

THE reader will not, it is thought, be displeased with the brief account of the principal places to which the foregoing narrative refers, given by Prince Adalbert, of Prussia, who visited them in 1842, and whose travels have recently been translated and published in this country. He went from Malaga to Granada in “the diligence.”

"My cooped-up position in the diligence did not allow me any open view, and I had only an occasional glimpse of the country. Scarcely had I in the twilight caught, as it seemed, a view of a city, stretching along the hills, when it again vanished from my sight. At another turn in the road, I was able to cast a glance on the grand outlines of the lofty, extended Sierra Nevada, which lay before us clothed in deep blue. Then the city came again in sight, and every eye was gazing eagerly to catch a view of the Alhambra. One picture after another flew past the window, without our being able to catch any general view of the country.

"We could no longer endure being boxed up in this vehicle: the door behind was opened, and every one jumped out. The moment was opportune: the seven strong mules which had drawn us from Loxa," (the Spanish *x* is pronounced nearly as the English *j* or soft *g*,) "a distance of eight leagues, without stopping, were being watered at a brook, and the diligence stood in the midst of the stream: with a good spring we reached the dry ground. Before us lay the most glorious panorama that can be imagined. The morning mists rose from the noble plain in which the Xenil and the Darro join. The Vega of Granada may be regarded as an immense valley, encompassed on the west, north, and east, by a wide amphitheatre of hills and moun-

tains, and bounded on the south, likewise, by ranges of hills. This semicircle opens to the left of the Xenil, on light blue hills, connected with a dark blue mountain of beautiful outline. In the foreground, brown, parched hills rise out of the plain, united at their base, and form a single slope of gentle inclination, on which the city of Granada rises in wide extent, from the midst of fresh green, rich foliage, and cypresses. The summits of the hills above Granada are parched and barren; only here and there the cactus or aloe climbing up them. 'Where is the Alhambra?' was the general exclamation. To the right, above the city, lay a small shady wood on the hill side, on the skirts of which, as we approached, the old Moorish fortress rose more distinctly to view,—a mass of red-brown towers and buildings, in the midst of churches and monasteries. Still higher up and farther back lies the convent-like Generalife. On the right, a long, naked mountain, levelled at its summit, forms a connecting link between the dark blue mountains and hills of Granada, and the lofty, steep, and mighty Sierra Nevada. Behind this ridge the sun was just rising," (July 6th,) "and his rays tinged it with a glorious violet and rosy colour. This long mountain-range is indescribably beautiful, with its grand and noble outline. Here and there an isolated patch of snow lay upon its summit,

whilst in other places the snow descended in scarcely perceptible, oblique, parallel stripes.

“Touched by the first morning beams, the loftiest of the numerous little peaks which rise from the sharp ridge of the Sierra, glowed like an Alpine summit. The mountain itself long retained its dark, bluish tints, which gradually passed into a more transparent violet. Then the sun rose with dazzling brilliancy above the hills, clothing the upper third of the Sierra Nevada in the most exquisite rosy light; while the rest of the mountain assumed its usual burnt and brownish tone of colour, with the single, broad, red-brown stripes which give it such a peculiar appearance.”

On reaching the city, the Prince and his friends immediately proceeded to the great object of their journey:—“We stood before the lofty Moorish arch which forms the principal entrance to the Alhambra. We stepped out on the Plaza de los Algibes: on our right stood the square palace of Charles V., begun in the style of the revival of art, but left unfinished, with the round court-yard in the middle: on the left rose the towers and battlements of the Alcazaba: on the right, hidden by a corner of the palace, is the insignificant entrance to the famous summer-palace of the Moorish Kings. A row of modern houses is erected on the entrance-side of the Plaza de los Algibes, from which the little Puerta

del Vino opens on to the square. The breath of the South, with all its mysterious charm, was wafted to us through the lofty entrance-arch of the Puerta Principal,—how did it captivate our senses still more on entering the interior of the summer-seraglio! Any one who desires to witness Moorish architecture in its glory, in its full splendour and finest execution, must seek it here, and here alone.

“The Patio de la Alberca, with its oblong basin in the middle, called the Myrtle Court, from the hedges of myrtle which enclose it, surpassed all my expectations. And yet how entirely different is the impression produced on entering the adjacent Lion Court! The glowing fancy of the East was alone capable of creating such a place. The Patio de los Leones is the pearl of the Alhambra, and perhaps the most romantic spot on earth. A shady colonnade, of light Moorish arches and fine slender marble columns, surrounds this little garden of Paradise, solemn as a cloister, and charming as a picture from the Arabian Nights. On the narrow sides of the oblong square, the colonnade projects over the flowery carpet of the garden, like two kiosks, with an overhanging roof. In the centre stands a monument of past times, the celebrated Lion Fountain, from which flow four little rivulets between myrtle hedges, to supply the fountains in the adjoining apartments. Here and there

stands a young cypress, solitary and solemn, like the mournful watchman at the graves of the Moslim. Supported by the colonnade, dazzling white walls rise all around, covered with the richest arabesques in stucco, like a tissue of Brussels lace, as a German lady has remarked; while the deep blue sky of Andalusia overarches the whole.

“Lofty gates lead into the adjoining Salas de las dos Hermanas, and de los Abencerages. These apartments are marvellously beautiful, the walls covered with arabesques, and rich decorations hanging down from the vaulted ceilings like various-coloured drops. The Sala de los Embaxadores is exactly similar, and is connected by the Sala de la Barca with the Patio de la Alberca. The Sala del Tribunal, which opens on to the Lion Court, is not square, like the former halls, but oblong: three doors lead into the colonnade of the Patio de los Leones.

“We enjoyed a view of the sunset from the Torre de la Vela, the tower of the Alcazaba, on which the Christian banners were first planted. From this point there is the grandest view over Granada and the plain, the Alhambra and the Generalife, with the lofty Nevada in the background. Centuries have passed since the Arabs quitted this Paradise, the valley of Granada; and yet the traces they have left in the Alhambra remain to this day imperishable. On entering

it, a person feels himself transported as by magic to the lovely yet solemn land of the East.

“The next morning we took a walk to the Generalife. The first of the small gardens in the interior of the palace is similar to those of the Alhambra. The building lying directly opposite the entrance contains a beautiful Moorish gate, leading into a vaulted hall, the ceiling and walls of which are ornamented with the same kind of lace-work and suspended drops as we had observed before. On the left, an arched passage, with arcades and windows, encloses the garden. The view of the Alhambra from this passage is wonderfully fine; its towers and battlements rising out of the wood on the further extremity of a narrow intervening valley. On the acclivity above the Generalife is built a small pavilion, which affords a still more extensive view. Granada lies grouped around the foot of the Alhambra: on turning round, the Sierra Nevada is seen rising above the hill; while toward the south we were shown the height from which the Moors, as they departed, cast a final glance at Granada: it is still called ‘*El ultimo Suspiro de los Moros*.’

“On our ride back from visiting the little chapel of San Miguel del Alto, on the heights above Granada, the Sierra Nevada lay before us: we had a glorious view of the setting sun. Beneath us, on the left, lay the Generalife, and the

red-brown Alhambra with its abrupt towers, separated from us by a deep valley. The steep, wooded hill which they crown stretches like a tongue of land into the city. On the slope of the hill on which we stood are rows of aloehedges; the old Arab wall runs along it, and may be traced down into the city. The wide, verdant plain, with woods and fields, bordered by parallel ranges of hills, extends up to Granada; and in this plain rises the black, isolated, Monte Santo, whose points were more sharply defined by the sun going down behind them. From San Miguel we proceeded across the deep valley to the Alhambra. On reaching the foot of the wooded hill, we struck into a path by which the Abencerages used to pass from the Generalife to the Alhambra: it climbs in a wild and romantic manner along the bed of a murmuring rivulet, overhung with leafy branches; a small aqueduct still remaining on one side. We rode through a little gate into the castle. Had it been moonlight, we should have been tempted to pass the night there; but the darkness soon took from the spot its romantic interest. The next day, from the 'Last Sigh of the Moors,' we took our final farewell of Granada."



